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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE;

CONTAINING

EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED

HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.

INCLUDING

Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

By WILLEM LODEWYK VAN-ESS.

Illustrated with numerous Portraits.

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LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

State of the Population and Agriculture of France at the Time Buonaparté became Conſul.

BUONAPARTE having ſucceeded in deſtroying the government of the Directory, and himſelf being inveſted with the Conſular Dignity, it is intereſting to inquire what ſtrength and reſources then remained to France after ſo many convulſions, and ſuch violent revolutions of her ſyſtem.— The number of inhabitants, the appropriation of their induſtry, the quantity of land in cultivation, the ſtate of manufactures and trade, are the material points upon which the ſtateſman will ſolicitouſly endeavour to obtain information, before he attempts to better the condition of a country, whoſe body politic is enfeebled and deranged.

France was eſtimated by the Conſtituent Aſſembly, before the war, to contain a population of 26,363,074. M. Necker, in a calculation made ten years before, mentions the number to have been 24,800,000, and expreſſes his firm belief that the yearly births at that time amounted to above a million. It appears that the population of France re-

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mained undiminiſhed, in ſpite of all the cauſes of deſtruction which operated upon it during the courſe of the Revolution; and that however ſeverely her manufactures had ſuffered, her agriculture had increaſed rather than leſſened. Thoſe who were thrown out of work by the deſtruction of the manufactures, and who did not go to the armies, betook themſelves to the labours of agricu'ture; at the ſame time the abſence of a large portion of the beſt and moſt vigorous hands raiſed the price of labour; and as from the new land brought into cultivation, and the abſence of a conſiderable part of the greateſt conſumers in foreign countries, the price of proviſions did not riſe in proportion, this advance in the price of labour not only operated as a powerful encouragement to marriage, but enabled the peaſants to live better, and to rear a greater number of their children.

The number of ſmall farmers and proprietors in France was always great, and the ſale and diviſion of many of the large domains of the nobles and clergy conſiderably increaſed the number of landed proprietors during the Revolution; whilſt, as a part of theſe domains conſiſted of parks and chaces, new territory was given to the plough. Although the land-tax was heavy, and injudiciouſly impoſed, that diſadvantage was nearly counterbalanced by the removal of the former oppreſſions under which the cultivator laboured; and the ſale and diviſion of the great domains was as a clear advantage on the ſide of agriculture.

Thus the means of ſubſiſtence at leaſt remained unimpaired, if they did not increaſe; whilſt the births increaſed, and the deaths of thoſe remaining in the

country diminiſhed; and it appears, that, including thoſe who fell in the armies, and by violent means, the *deaths* did not exceed the births in the courſe of the Revolution.

The eſtimate of the population, at the period of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, has already been mentioned, and at this time the number of perſons to a ſquare league was reckoned 996. In the year Six of the Republic, the reſult of the *Bureau de Cadaſtre* gave a population of 26,048,254, and the number to a ſquare league 1,020. In the year Seven Dépère calculated the whole population of France at 33,501,094, of which 28,810,694 belonged to ancient France; the number to a ſquare league being 1,101.

Here, however, it ſhould be remarked, that though the numerical population of France might not have ſuffered by the Revolution; yet, that if her loſſes were in any degree equal to ſome conjectures on the ſubject, her military ſtrength could not have been unimpaired. Her population conſiſted of a much greater proportion than uſual of women and children; and the body of unmarried perſons, of a military age, diminiſhed in a very ſtriking manner. At all times the number of males, of a military age in France, was ſmall in proportion to the population, on account of the tendency to marriage, and the great number of children.

The Official Reports from the Departments, afford uſeful information reſpecting the agriculture of France, about the time of the Revolution of the eighteenth Brumaire. Out of ſeventy-eight reports, ſix are of opinion that it is improved; ten, that it is

deteriorated; ſeventy demand that it ſhould be encouraged in general; thirty-two complain of "the multiplicity of incloſures;" and twelve demand "the encouragement of incloſures." One of the reports mentions, "the prodigious quantity of waſte lands put in cultivation within a ſhort time, and of labour being increaſed exceſſively beyond the number of labourers;" and others ſpeak of "a greater quantity of land having been for ſeveral years laid down for cultivation," which appeared to be ſucceſsful at firſt, but it was ſoon perceived that it would be more profitable to cultivate leſs, and cultivate well. Many of the reports notice the cheapneſs of corn, and the want of ſufficient vent for this commodity; and in the diſcuſſion of the queſtion reſpecting the diviſion of the national domains, it is obſerved, that "having created a greater number of ſmall farmers, and greatly encouraged incloſures, commodities were in a certain degree augmented; but it was to be obſerved, that the uncultivated paſtures no longer exiſting, had tended to diminiſh the number of cattle." On the whole, therefore, it ſhould ſeem that though the agriculture of the country does not appear to have been conducted judiciouſly, ſo as to obtain a large *ſurplus* produce, yet that the *abſolute* produce had by no means been diminiſhed during the Revolution, and that the attempt to bring ſo much new land under cultivation had contributed to make the ſcarcity of labourers ſtill more ſenſible; and if the food of the country did not decreaſe during the Revolution, the high price of labour muſt have operated as a moſt powerful encouragement to population among the labouring part of the ſociety.

Of the ſtate of the hoſpitals and charitable eſta-

bliſhments, of the prevalence of beggary, and the mortality among the expoſed children, a moſt deplorable picture is drawn in almoſt all the reports. It appears, however, that the hoſpitals and charitable eſtabliſhments loſt almoſt the whole of their revenues during the Revolution; and this ſudden ſubtraction of ſupport from a great number of people, who had no other reliance, together with the known failure of manufactures in the towns, and the very great increaſe of illegitimate children, might produce all the diſtreſſing appearances deſcribed in the reports, without impeaching the great fact of the meliorated condition of agricultural labourers in general, neceſſarily ariſing from the acknowledged high price of labour, and the comparative cheapneſs of corn. If the Poor's Rates of England were ſuddenly aboliſhed there would, undoubtedly, be the moſt complicated diſtreſs among thoſe who were before ſupported by them; but it would not, therefore, follow, that either the condition of the labouring part of the ſociety in general, or the population of the country would ſuffer from it.

It ſhould ſeem from theſe facts and concluſions, (which are partly the labour of a gentleman who has recently written a very elaborate Work upon Population,) that, at the time Buonaparté became Conſul of the French Republic, its population was thirty-three millions and a half; that land was more equally divided than before the Revolution; that although the breed of cattle might have been ſomewhat reduced, more land was therefore brought into cultivation; and that there was abſolutely more land laid down for tillage than could be cultivated; that more corn was produced than could be conſumed; and

that, although the price of provifions was extremely low, the price of labour was very high.

The Revolution, then, had wrought a very conſiderable improvement in the ſtate of the people, though at the expenſe of millions of treaſure and of lives, and a ſeries of confuſion which had laſted during ten years. A train of accidents had effected what no government in the annals of the world had ever accompliſhed by the power of reaſon; the price of labour was high, and yet the price of grain was low; in other words, proviſions were eaſily procurable by the maſs of the people. If exiſting governments were happily endowed with both wiſdom and honeſty, they might improve this circumſtance for the benefit of their reſpective countries; for the cauſes are clear and apparent, and require no elucidation by metaphyſical reſearch. The emigrations and confiſcations that had taken place, had ſwelled the national domains prodigiouſly, and the lands had been ſold at very ſmall prices, which had enabled perſons, whoſe capitals were diſcharged by the diſorders of the Revolution, to direct their attention to agricultural improvements. The decay of trade, and the inſecurity of the funds, induced people to cultivate the ſoil, whilſt the demand of the armies for men, kept the labourers from encreaſing too rapidly.

It is worth obſerving, that the French Government never found it neceſſary to attempt the practice of exporting proviſions; neceſſity made agriculture the mean of employing capital, and the conſequence was, that grain and every other article, was proportionably cheap. Had the French government raiſed the price of corn, by permitting it to be

exported, the effect would have been the same as if the capitals had been drawn off by the allurements of trade, or by high prices of the public funds. Nobody was willing to trust the Government, and the want of public credit conferred a double benefit on the nation: first, it escaped the burden of interest on a debt; and, secondly, it had the whole capital of the country employed in the production of internal plenty. This state of things forms a striking contrast to the wretchedness of nations whose governments are in high credit with money jobbers; but the indifference of persons in general, to this interesting subject, continues much as it was when Hume wrote upon it.

"I must confess, (says that writer,) that there is a strange supineness, from long custom, crept into all ranks of men, with regard to public debts; not unlike what divines so vehemently complain of with regard to their religious doctrines. We all own, that the most sanguine imagination cannot hope, either that this, or any future ministry will be possest of such rigid and steady frugality, as to make any considerable progress in the payment of our debts, or that the situation of foreign affairs will, for any long time, allow them leisure and tranquillity, sufficient for such an undertaking.

"In times of peace and security, when alone it is possible to pay debt, the monied interest are averse to receive partial payments, which they know not how to dispose of to advantage; and the landed interest are averse to continue the taxes requisite for that purpose. Why, therefore, should a minister persevere in a measure so disagreeable to all parties? For the sake, I suppose, of a posterity, which he will

never ſee, or of a few reaſonable, reflecting people, whoſe united intereſt, perhaps, will not be able to ſecure him the ſmalleſt borough in England. It is not likely we ſhall ever find any miniſter ſo bad a politician. With regard to theſe narrow, deſtructive maxims of politics, all miniſters are expert enough.

"What then is to become of us? Were we ever ſo good Chriſtians, and ever ſo reſigned to providence; this, methinks, were a curious queſtion, even conſidered as a ſpeculative one, and what it might not be altogether impoſſible to form ſome conjectural ſolution of. The events here will depend little upon the contingencies of battles, negotiations, intrigues, and factions. There ſeems to be a natural progreſs of things, which may guide our reaſoning. As it would have required but a moderate ſhare of prudence, when we firſt began this practice of mortgaging, to have foretold, from the nature of men and of miniſters, that things would neceſſarily be carried to the length we ſee; ſo now that they have, at laſt, happily reached it, it may not be difficult to gueſs at the conſequence. It muſt, indeed, be one of theſe two events; either the nation muſt deſtroy public credit, or public credit will deſtroy the nation. It is impoſſible they can both ſubſiſt, after the manner they have been hitherto managed in this, as well as in ſome other nations.

"There was, indeed, a ſcheme for the payment of our debts, which was propoſed by an excellent citizen, Mr. Hutchinſon, above thirty years ago, and which was much approved of by ſome men of ſenſe, but never was likely to take effect. He aſſerted, that there was a fallacy in imagining, that the public owed this debt; for that really every individual owed

a proportional ſhare of it, and paid, in his taxes, a proportional ſhare of the intereſt, beſide the expenſes of levying theſe taxes. 'Had we not better, then,' ſays he, 'make a proportional diſtribution of the debt amongſt us, and each of us contribute a ſum ſuitable to his property, and by that means, diſcharge at once all our funds and public mortgages?' He ſeems not to have conſidered, that the laborious poor pay a conſiderable part of the taxes by their annual conſumptions, though they could not advance at once, a proportional part of the ſum required. Not to mention, that property in money and ſtock in trade might eaſily be concealed or diſguiſed; and that viſible property in lands and houſes would really at laſt anſwer for the whole: an inequality and oppreſſion, which never would be ſubmitted to. But, though this project is never likely to take place; it is not altogether improbable, that, when the nation become heartily ſick of their debts, and are cruelly oppreſt by them, ſome daring projector may ariſe, with viſionary ſchemes for their diſcharge. And as public credit will begin, by that time, to be a little frail, the leaſt touch will deſtroy it, as happened in France; and in this manner, it will *die of the doctor*.

"A too great diſproportion among the citizens weakens any ſtate. Every perſon, if poſſible, ought to enjoy the fruits of his labour, in a full poſſeſſion of all the neceſſaries, and many of the conveniencies of life. No one can doubt, but ſuch an equality is moſt ſuitable to human nature, and diminiſhes much leſs from the *happineſs* of the rich than it adds to that of the poor. It alſo augments the *power of the ſtate*, and makes any extraordinary taxes or impoſitions be paid with much more cheerfulneſs. Where

the riches are engroſſed by a few, theſe muſt contribute very largely to the ſupplying the public neceſſities. But when the riches are diſperſed among multitudes, the burden feels light on every ſhoulder, and the taxes make not a very ſenſible difference on any one's way of living.

"Add to this, that, where the riches are in few hands, theſe muſt enjoy all the power, and will readily conſpire to lay the whole burthen on the poor, and oppreſs them ſtill further, to the diſcouragement of all induſtry."

The doctrine of Hume has been ſanctioned by the Revolution, for the maſs of the people were evidently bettered by it, notwithſtanding the diſtreſſing ſcenes that had occurred. The ancient proprietors ſtill poſſeſſed a deſire to return to their monopolies, but numbers were againſt them; and though the Government aſſumed much of the old form and appearance, circumſtances ſeemed ſtrongly to militate againſt its falling into the ſame hands.

CHAPTER II.

Position of the Armies.—Rome, &c. captured by the English.—Declaration of the Emperor of Russia against France.—Skirmishes between General Melas and Championnet in Italy.—Battle of Genola.—The Austrians advance towards Genoa.—Coni summoned to surrender by General Melas.—General Suwarrow retreats from Switzerland.—Situation of the Austrian Army in consequence.—Reflections upon the Conduct of the Emperor of Russia.

THE military affairs of France on the continent have already been traced up to the time when Buonaparté returned from Egypt. It will be recollected that General Melas, at the head of the Austrian army in Italy, was opposed by General Championnet, and that the Archduke Charles, with General Suwarrow, commanded the Allied Russian and Austrian armies against General Massena in Switzerland. Beside the operations of these powerful bodies, there were various minor skirmishes which turned mostly to the advantage of the Allies; and particularly, as they led to the surrender of Rome, and Civita Vecchia, to the English squadron, commanded by Captain Trowbridge. In resuming the narrative of the war, from the period when our Hero became the directing Soul of the Republic, it will be proper to shew what were the views of the Allies, as they may be gathered from the Declaration of the Emperor of Russia, which arrived in France before the overthrow of the Directory.

COPY *of a* DECLARATION, *made by his* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR *of all the Ruſſias, to the Members of the German Empire.*

"His Imperial Majeſty, the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, ever animated with zeal for the cauſe of Sovereigns, and wiſhing to put a ſtop to the ravages and diſorders which have been ſpread, by the impious government under which France groans, to the remoteſt countries—being fully determined to diſpatch his ſea and land forces for the ſupport of the ſufferers, and to reſtore Royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to reeſtabliſh the ancient forms of Government in the United Netherlands and in the Swiſs Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German empire—and to look for his reward in the happineſs and tranquillity of Europe; Providence has bleſſed his arms, and hitherto the Ruſſian troops have triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and ſocial order.

"His Majeſty, the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addreſſes this Declaration to all the members of the German Empire, inviting them to join their forces with his, to deſtroy their common enemy as ſpeedily as poſſible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themſelves and their poſterity.

"Should his Imperial Majeſty of all the Ruſſias perceive that they ſupport his views, and rally around him, he will, inſtead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not ſheath his ſword, before he has ſeen the downfall of the monſter which threatens to cruſh all legal authorities. But, ſhould he be left to himſelf, he will be forced to recall his forces to his ſtates, and give up a cauſe ſo badly ſupported by thoſe who ought to have the greateſt ſhare in its triumph."

"Gatchina, Sept. 15, (O. S.) 1799."

Genoa was the prize for which both parties were evidently contending. The Auſtrians were collect-

ing all their forces to ſurround it by land, whilſt the Britiſh were preparing to co-operate as effectually by ſea; and the French were equally active in endeavouring to maintain the ſhock by powerful reinforcements.

General Melas received intelligence that the French were collecting a large force on the banks of the Stura, and diſpatched General Gutteſheim with ſeven battalions, to plant himſelf in the moſt advantageous poſition, between Foſſano and Savigliano, ſo as to obſerve accurately all the motions of the enemy. Theſe poſts were attacked, but the Auſtrian general maintained his ſtand.

Championnet took up his head-quarters at Finale, 41 miles South-eaſt of Coni; the Auſtrian general, Melas, fixed his at La Trinite, 39 miles North-weſt by Weſt of Finale. Different detachments of the hoſtile armies carried on a deſultory war of poſts, which had for their object the protection of Coni from being inveſted. Klenau, who was commanded to advance towards Genoa, was repulſed by the French general, Miollis. In the mean time, the French marched upon Novi, as the poſt of Bochetta afforded ſecurity to the Northern parts of the Genoeſe territory. Novi was taken by them, and at the ſame time they made an attack upon General Karaczy, at Rivalta, and threatened to make an incurſion into the country of the Milaneſe, by the way of Placentia. Championnet aſſembled all his forces at Coni, to which place he went in perſon, after he had entruſted the head and right of his line to St. Cyr, as well as Genoa and the places in its vicinity. Including the detachments he called in, and the army of the Alps, he found himſelf at the head of no more than

25,000 men. Different ſkirmiſhes took place between the advanced guards of the hoſtile armies with various ſucceſs, when Championnet determined to attempt the relief of Coni, by giving battle to the enemy; and conceived the deſign of ſurrounding the right wing of the Auſtrian army on the ſide of Foſſano and Savigliano, to deſtroy their communications with Bra and Turin, and compel Melas to engage the Republicans in a ſituation much to his diſadvantage. The Auſtrian general, with a view of ſtrengthening himſelf, reſolved to embody an army of Piedmonteſe. Theſe troops were to be placed upon the ancient footing, and to take the oath of fidelity to the King of Sardinia, only without being ſubject to the Auſtrian diſcipline.

To conceal his deſigns, Championnet performed a variety of manœuvres with his right wing, and gave orders to Victor to aſſault the poſts of La Chiuſa and Villa Nova, which the Auſtrians abandoned in ſucceſſion. The French penetrated as far as Mendovi, which declined ſurrendering, while that city was blockaded, and other poſts fell into the hands of the Republicans. The intentions of Championnet having, at length, been diſcovered by Melas, he ordered the greater part of his forces to ſupport his right wing, and he himſelf had projected the plan of ſurrounding the left wing of the French army. The hoſtile armies were now in ſight of each other between the Grana river and Stura. By the manœuvres of Melas, with his right wing, the French were forced to extend their left, receding farther from Coni, which enfeebled their line and compelled them to fight againſt ſuperior forces.

Championnet wiſhing to join the troops of Du-

heſme, commanded Victor to proceed towards Foſſano and Grenier to Savigliano; one column was ordered againſt Marienne, another againſt Genola, and a third againſt Foſſano. The diviſions of the contending armies formed on the morning of the ſame day, and began their march at the ſame period. The action was begun by General Ott, who took the route to Savigliano, againſt Grenier, when theſe diviſions fought with determined bravery, uſing every effort to turn each other. The Republican infantry had to ſuſtain the ſhocks of the enemy's cavalry, when they were, at laſt, forced to fall back, accompliſhing their retreat in good order towards Savigliano, which place they were obliged to abandon by the united efforts of Ott and Mitrowſky. By the loſs of Savigliano, Championnet was compelled to fall back on Valdizzio, being the center poſition of his army; this poſition was no longer tenable by the French general, without running the hazard of being ſurrounded, on which account he drew back his left wing to Cantala, or Centale, four miles North of Coni. No farther obſtacles coming in the way of Melas, he collected his troops before Contala, when the approach of night put a period to the conflict, in which both had ſuffered a material loſs.

Contala was abandoned by the French general during the night, a part of his left wing falling back towards the valley of the Stura (extending in a South-weſt direction from Coni) and the troops under Grenier having paſſed the city of Coni, continued their retreat Southwards to the left of the torrent of the Geſſo, running on the South-weſt of the valley of the Stura. The poſt of Morazzo was aſſaulted by Melas.

on the enſuing day, when a number of Republicans were obliged to lay down their arms to the victors, their retreat being effectually cut off. The loſs of the battle of Genola compelled Championnet to abandon Coni to its own reſources, after having loſt in different actions about 8,000 men. The army, in three columns, retreated, the one by Coni, the other favouring the retreat by the Col de Tende, and a third under Mendovi, its retreat being ſecured by the valley of the Tanaro. Melas having received information that Championnet's forces were ſcattered, determined on the purſuit of them into the high vallies, to force them to abandon Coni, and to inveſt the place to the Weſtward. The Republicans were unfortunate in all directions, the forces under Duheſme retreating acroſs the frontiers of France to Briançon by the way of Suſe, and the diviſion of Grenier falling back on the South to the top of the Appenines, near the Col de Tende.

To facilitate the ſiege of Coni, it was neceſſary to force the French to deſert all the poſts they occupied in its vicinity. The ſucceſſes of Melas enabled him to ſummon Coni to ſurrender, but the commandant refuſing to comply, he began to bombard it, taking care to prevent it from receiving aſſiſtance from any quarter whatever. Kray, on the other ſide, was entruſted with operations equally intereſting. He gained poſſeſſion of Acqui, compelling the French to retreat towards the Scrivia, who poſted themſelves on the reverſe of the mountains of Novi, which they fortified, but from this poſition they were driven by General Kray, and nothing more of the Republican conqueſts remained to them in Italy except the Ligurian Republic; and the Republican army was en-

feebled by defertion, on account of the want of proviſions.

The Auſtrian general now puſhed on the ſiege of Coni with great vigor. On the 11th of November the diviſion of General Ott attacked that part of the French which remained at Borgo Saint Dalmazzo, and drove them as far as Robillante: on the ſame day Major-general Somaſiva purſued them in the valley of the Stura as far as Demonte, of which he took poſſeſſion, and made 100 priſoners: Major-general Gotterſheim alſo obliged the French to evacuate the villages of La Chiuſa, Boves, and Poveragna. General Championnet had aſſembled his whole force at Mondovi and upon the mountains behind the river Ellero, as far as Monaſterlo: as long as he occupied this poſition it was impoſſible to proceed with the ſiege of Coni; General Melas, therefore, gave orders that a general attack ſhould be made on the 13th: for this reaſon the diviſion of General Metrowſki, which had marched as far as Cheraſco, for the purpoſe of reinforcing General Kray, was ordered to return to the camp of the Trinita on the 12th, and to form the left of the attack on the town of Mondovi. The remainder of the army marched in two columns, the one by La Chiuſa, upon Monaſterlo, the other by Villa Nova, upon the center of the enemy's line. From the difficulties of the roads the attacks were not made till very late, and the enemy, without making much reſiſtance, abandoned all his poſitions. The people of Mondovi opened the gat s of the lower town to the Auſtrians. The French army retired by Vico, and evacuated the citadel of Mondovi in the night.

Suwarrow collected his army in the vicinity of Lindau, on the Lake of Conſtance, and rallied the di-

visions under Korsakow, when he found himself at the head of an army far from being contemptible, notwithstanding he had lost more than the half of his original number. This army kept possession of Bregantz, which was a post of considerable importance, but without gaining any advantage over the French, whilst the army of the Rhine was advancing to the attack of Phillipsburg, in defiance of the Archduke Charles. The inactivity of the Combined Armies had caused much surprise, when Suwarrow, having sent back his cavalry on his rear, began to retreat, fixing his head-quarters at Memmingen. The corps of Conde at the same time filed off upon Augsburg, to take up their winter quarters either in that town or its vicinity. This defection of the Russian commander rendered the situation of the Archduke perilous in the extreme, yet he found means, with 60,000 men, to keep up a line of defence for the space of 80 leagues, from the celebrated post of Nauders, at the entrance of the Engadin, down to Phillipsburg, and that too in the presence of forces superior to his own.

The French having secured their positions to the left of the Lake of Constance followed up their advantages on the side of the Grisons, by the valley of Disentis, on the Forder Rhine. Soult, Loison, and Mortier, dislodged the enemy's rear-guard, compelling them to retreat on the other side of the Rhine by the way of Feldsberg and the bridge of Richenau, which was afterwards destroyed: the Republicans penetrated no farther. Massena employed no efforts to compel the Austrians to abandon the whole of the Grisons, since he could at that period have proposed to himself no object sufficient to justify such an effusion of hu-

man blood. The different corps of his army were collected by him and concentrated on Basil and Zurich; the intrenchments at the latter place he raised and enlarged, while all the passes on the side of St. Gothard were blocked up by snow.

Prince Charles found it very difficult to hold the army of the Rhine in check, after the desertion of Suwarrow; for the contending armies were so equally balanced, that Philipsburg was twice blockaded by the French. It would be vain to assign a cause for the departure of the Russians at so critical a moment; scarcely any conduct, of whatever kind, that Austria could have been guilty of, would have justified such a dereliction from every principle of honour, as to desert an ally at a moment when his own power was unable to protect him. It is certain that the Russian generals complained of their services not being sufficiently acknowledged by the Austrians; and the capricious disposition of the Emperor Paul required no stronger ground of jealousy to lead him to any rash determination. The Archduke Charles received notice, about the middle of November, that the Russian generals had received orders to return: but, as the season opposed many obstacles to their retreat, hopes were entertained, that the joint entreaties of the British and Austrian cabinets might induce the Emperor to change his resolution.

It was now discovered, that the Autocrat of all the Russias was nothing more than an elevated savage, whose unbending mind resisted all the powers of reasoning. Exhortation was in vain: he conceived himself to have been neglected, and he pursued only his resentment, without regarding the consequences. A more unfortunate circumstance had not occurred for

the Allies ſince the defection of the King of Pruſſia: it was an evil without a mixture of good; and was the more unprincipled, as the other powers in the Confederacy had ſupplied contingents towards very extenſive arrangements for the enſuing campaign, upon the preſumed co-operation of the Ruſſian forces. Fortune, however, favoured the Allies at this juncture, by the neceſſity under which the French Government was laid of ſending troops into their own Departments, to quell the inſurrections of the Chouans and various bodies of Royaliſts, who were ſtill ſtruggling to re-eſtabliſh the Bourbons.

CHAPTER III.

Similar Anecdotes of Cromwell and Buonaparté.—New Miniſtry under the Conſuls.—Revival of Public Credit.—Decree of Deportation and Impriſonment againſt Fifty-nine Perſons.—Afterwards virtually revoked.—Decree in Favour of the Prieſts.—Humane Decree reſpecting ſhipwrecked Emigrants.—The Conſuls give Notice to the Britiſh Government, that they decline maintaining the French Priſoners in England, and the reaſoning upon which it was juſtified.—Company of Comedians raiſed, and the Ladies of the Palais Royal collected for the Uſe of the Army of Egypt.—Addreſs of Buonaparté, as Conſul, to the Army of the Eaſt.—Popularity of the Conſular Government.—Eſtabliſhment of a Sinking Fund for extinguiſhing the National Debt.—A Loan voted to the Conſuls by Acclamation.—Talleyrand re-appointed.—New Arrangements in Foreign Affairs.

CROMWELL, who ſnatched the reins of power from the ſcrambling factions that had overſet the throne;—whoſe government, as Protector of the Commonwealth of England, after refuſing the crown that was tendered to him, prolonged the interregnum of the Stuart ſovereigns;—whoſe prudence projected, and whoſe energy ſecured, the maritime ſuperiority of his country;—he, who humbled its enemies by his arms, and by his negociations retained all the advantages of victory;—he, to whoſe conſummate wiſdom and admirable genius we owe our naval grandeur;—that very Cromwell, when a private independent gentleman, holding an inferior rank in the King's army, being diſcontented with

the caprices of the Court, the fooleries of the people, and the knavery of both, determined to quit the kingdom, for a country in which his talents would be better appreciated. He was ſtepping on board the veſſel that was to waft him away from his native ſhores, when a warrant, iſſued by the King, reſtrained him from leaving the kingdom. If Charles I. had not injudiciouſly exerciſed his prerogative, Cromwell would never have had it in his power to have ordered the death-warrant of that Sovereign. Charles, perhaps, would neither have been executed as a criminal againſt the people, by the Republicans, nor have been canonized as a martyr by the Royaliſts. Another ſaint's-day would not have been added to the Calendar, by the church and ſtate biſhops, nor would ſuch of the good people of England, as *are* obſervers of times and ſeaſons, have been politically divided into two parties. It would not have been a queſtion of conſcience, in the nineteenth century, whether the thirtieth of January ſhould be kept as the anniverſary faſt of a martyred monarch, or as an anniverſary feſtival to commemorate the juſtice inflicted by the people, upon a tyrant and a traitor.

This incident in the life of Cromwell, is naturally ſuggeſted at the moment when Buonaparté attained the ſupreme power in France, by the recollection, that, at an early period of his military fame, he was conſtrained to remain in the French army againſt his own inclination, which prompted him to go to Conſtantinople. The mind will, involuntarily, parallel theſe correſponding events in the lives of two men, eminent for having riſen from obſcurity to the rule of two great Empires. The renown of Cromwell will blazon in Engliſh Hiſtory, and be in

the memory of England and her enemies as long as our annals and the faculties of memory remain: the fame of Buonaparté will live as long, and the ſimilarity of their fortunes will often recur to the recollection.

Near a century and a half of years have paſſed ſince Cromwell triumphed over the turbulence of the times in which he lived; ſince he paſſed the barrier of being, and was laid in the narrow houſe for ever. When we read of him, it is of a man of other ages, whoſe career is ended, and of whom every thing has been told that it is now poſſible to know; but Buonaparté is of our own times, and has influenced, and is influencing our own affairs. Thoſe who have ſeen, and heard, and read of him, are anxious to know more. The biographer has to toil for information through the tedious details of the politician, to collect the facts that lie ſcattered in the pages of the annaliſt, and to preſerve the anecdotes that would have otherwiſe been deſtroyed with the temporary pages of the journaliſt. He has already repreſented what events occurred to the period when Buonaparté became Conſul of the Republic, the important incidents ſubſequent to his elevation are now to be related.

The new Conſuls entered immediately upon an exerciſe of their functions; it had been ſettled that there ſhould be no preſident of the Conſulate, but that one Conſul ſhould be in conſtant attendance to his duty, and each attend in rotation. Maret, who had been ambaſſador at Naples, was appointed Secretary General of the Conſulate.

Intermediate commiſſions of the Councils of An-

cients and Five Hundred assembled, and passed some resolutions, abrogating former obnoxious decrees, substituting a war tax in lieu of a forced loan, ordering the payment of the annuities and pensions in a more regular and equitable manner, and adopting a new system of finance. The decisive measures of the new Government revived public confidence, and the funds rose very rapidly, whilst its temper towards those who were not likely to approve its proceedings was manifested, by a Decree, which ordered the deportation to Cayenne of thirty-seven persons, and sentenced to imprisonment twenty-two: amongst them were Arena, F. Lepelletier, Briot, Santhonax, and General Jourdan. The name of the latter was afterwards erased; "He has fallen into errors," said the Consuls, "but he has always been a good defender of the Republic." The Consuls, at length, gradually revoked the Decree against the whole number.

Religion was early attended to by the Consular Government, and the conciliation of the priests to the new order of affairs was attempted, in consequence of a report of Fouché, relative to the banished priests. It was declared by the Minister of Police, "that there were undoubtedly a great number of priests dangerous disturbers, whom authority should watch with unceasing vigilance, and sometimes punish; but there were also among them men of peaceable dispositions, and obedient to the laws, who would have served the Republic, if they had not by some oppressive measures have suffered the greatest violence in their dearest affections and most ancient habits; such was the deplorable effect of the violent measures resorted to during the tempest of the Revolution. Public pity for persecuted priests

had awakened the force of juſtice againſt the intolerant and fanatic among them; and ſuperſtition was reviving, even then, the recollection of all the proſcriptions exerciſed upon the miniſters of worſhip." The Conſuls, therefore, decreed, that the arrets of the Directory relative to the prieſts were repealed, and that all of thoſe prieſts who had taken the oaths, and all of thoſe who had married, and were impriſoned, ſhould be releaſed.

Before the Conſulate was appointed, the Legiſlative Bodies had often diſcuſſed the caſe of ſome unhappy Emigrants, who had been unfortunately ſhipwrecked on their native ſhores: nothing, however, had been decided on reſpecting them, for the Jacobins would have ſent them to the guillotine; and the Moderatiſts, to preſerve them from ſo cruel a fate, contrived to poſtpone the deliberations. The Emigrants had remained upwards of three years in cloſe confinement at Calais, and were afterwards removed to the Caſtle of Ham, in Picardy. The Conſuls, by a humane decree, declared, that their caſe was in no inſtance anticipated by the laws reſpecting Emigrants; that it was contrary to the rights of poliſhed nations to take advantage of the accident of ſhipwreck, and give up, even to the juſt operation of the laws, unfortunate perſons who had eſcaped from the waves; and that, therefore, they ſhould be releaſed, and ſent from the territory of the Republic. This was an eaſy and an honourable method of obtaining the friendſhip of an enemy. It is true, that pity is what "the happy to the unhappy owe," and the debt is ſometimes diſcharged. Here, not only pity was exhibited in an act of mercy towards the

unhappy, but from that quarter whence vengeance, rather than forbearance, was expected.

Whilſt exerciſing this act of clemency to a few miſerable Emigrants, the Conſuls publiſhed the following Notice relative to the French priſoners in England:

"The Conſuls have notified to the Engliſh Government, that, from the 22d December, all the expenſes neceſſary to the maintenance of the French priſoners in England ſhall be at the charge of the *Britiſh* Government."

(Signed) "BONAPARTE.
"SIEYES.
HUGUES BERNARD MARET, "ROGER DUCOS.
Secretary General."

By what policy and by what humanity this determination was dictated, the arguments which were uſed at the time will ſhew. They are curious, becauſe they manifeſt an exceſſive refinement of principle, that has been equally admired and condemned.

"It is known," ſays one of the French papers of the day, "that the Directory had for three years taken upon themſelves to furniſh the money for the ſupport of the French priſoners in England.* This meaſure has been abandoned, and a notification has been made to the Engliſh Government.

"The notification is in conformity with the common cuſtom of war, and is an act of wiſe adminiſtration and good policy. The old Directory is, perhaps,

* A recurrence to chapter xxi. vol. ii. of the preſent Work, will prove that the Directory did not always think proper to ſend their agents the money they took upon themſelves to furniſh for that purpoſe.

the firſt government which ſet the example of a belligerent power ſupporting its priſoners upon the territories of its enemies. It will be recollected at what epoch, with what forms, and with what intention, the Engliſh were relieved from the care of ſupporting our priſoners. Men muſt have ſeen in this new arrangement a ſort of inſult; the Engliſh papers at that time were filled with bitter complaints, with almoſt official juſtifications of their conduct, ſupported by moſt authentic proofs.

"Well informed men ſaw with ſurpriſe the French Government abandon itſelf blindly to theſe impolitic ſuggeſtions; releaſe the Engliſh from the expenſe and embarraſſment of making burdenſome advances; exhauſt, of its own accord, the remains of its ſpecie, in order to ſend it to England; deprive themſelves of the pecuniary reſources, of which they ſtood ſo preſſingly in need, in order to add to the pecuniary reſources of its enemy; and, in ſhort, ſupport the enormous expenſes of its adminiſtration.

"The Engliſh, whilſt they exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of the accuſation, gathered with pleaſure the fruits of this error of the Directory, though our old monarchial Government left England during the whole war to ſupport the expenſe of the priſoners, and did not liquidate the balance till the return of peace; and, conſequently, the return of circulation, credit, commerce, and plenty, rendered the payment more eaſy.

"The generally received cuſtom of leaving to the humanity of belligerent nations the care of protecting and ſupporting priſoners marks the progreſs of civilization. This proof of confidence and reci-

procal eſteem between nations at war is one of the means of approximation and reconciliation. We cannot, therefore, avoid ſeeing in this notification of the Conſular Government a return of the true principles which their loyalty honours."

This reaſoning, by which the abandonment of the French priſoners of war to the care of the enemy is juſtified, was not the leſs ſuitable to the purpoſes of the Conſulate, for having afforded an opportunity of reviling the Directory. Perhaps, the real motive that induced the meaſure was an exhauſted treaſury; for not only did the Conſuls refuſe to ſend over any remittances for future ſupplies, but they neglected to furniſh the French agent for priſoners in England, with money to pay for the articles he had taken up for their uſe, before the official notice had arrived; and he was detained by the Britiſh Government for the debts he had contracted on that account.

For the army under Kleber, in Egypt, Buonaparté manifeſted no intentions which could induce the Pariſians, to believe that the French arms were not completely victorious in that quarter, and that the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India would not ſhortly be *annexed* to France. Indeed, ſo well did he diſſemble any concern he might naturally be ſuppoſed to entertain for the welfare of his comrades, whom he had left almoſt deſtitute, and expoſed to every danger from the enemy, that he ordered a company of comedians to be raiſed, for the purpoſe of being ſent to Egypt to entertain the army. The actors, dancers, and muſicians, who were willing to go, were required to ſend their applications to the Commiſſary of the Government, at the theatre of the Re-

public, *Rue de la Loi*. Their pretenſions were to be individually ſtated, their capacity authenticated by proofs; the conditions of engagement were to be offered, and proper ſecurity for the fulfilment of the terms to be tendered. That the people might be aſſured of his regard to the comforts of the army in every reſpect, Fouché was ordered to put in requiſition the women of the town, at the *Palais Royal*. Near ſix hundred of theſe females were aſſembled, for the purpoſe of being ſent to the army of the Eaſt with the comedians; a colony was to be formed, by which the Egyptians were to be acquainted with the refinements and arts that civilization had extended to the French nation. Little did the Frenchmen in Paris, who witneſſed theſe preparations, imagine that the army, was threatened with annihilation at the time the Firſt Conſul had conferred the command on Kleber.

A Proclamation to the Army of the Eaſt acquainted them with his new rank in the ſtate.

The CONSUL BONAPARTE *to the Army of the Eaſt.*

"SOLDIERS!

"The Conſuls of the Republic often think on the army of the Eaſt.

"France knows all the influence of your conqueſts for the reſtoration of her commerce, and the civilization of the world.

"All Europe has her eyes fixed upon you. My thoughts are often with you.

"In whatever ſituation the chances of war may place you, be always the ſoldiers of Rivoli and Aboukir, and you will be invincible.

"Have in Kleber that unbounded confidence which you had in me; he deſerves it.

"Soldiers! think on the day when you will come back,

victorious, to the Sacred Land; it will be a day of joy and of glory for the whole nation.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

It was not difficult for the new Government to obtain popularity amongſt a people who had been haraſſed and fatigued with the violence and the inconſiſtencies of ten governments, during a period of as many years. They had been delivered up to the cupidity and the cruelty of every ſcoundrel who could clamber into power, and whoſe venality and rapacity were increaſed by the knowledge that the reign of his own party would be terminated by a faction equally hungry and remorſeleſs; by wretches, who were buſied in turning the heads of the people, that they might lift themſelves into place upon their ſhoulders. This multiplied ſucceſſion of profligacy was ſtopped by the Revolution of the eighteenth Brumaire. The new arrangements were more maſterly, men leſs obnoxious were nominated to ſituations of truſt, and buſineſs was diſpatched with greater celerity. Obedience being enforced by the bayonet, the unruly were awed; and, as no one was permitted to rob in the name of the nation, the people reſpected the authority which rendered their property ſecure.

Finance had Buonaparté's early and earneſt attention. He cauſed to be paſſed, in the Council of Five Hundred, ſome reſolutions, by which the receivers general of the departments were authorized to ſubſcribe bonds for the amount of the direct taxes of their reſpective departments, which ſhould be payable by twelve monthly inſtalments: they were directed to furniſh a twentieth part in ſpecie of the amount of the land-tax, to be applied as a

ſinking fund for the extinction of the public debt. The arrears of life-annuities and eccleſiaſtical penſions, as they became extinguiſhed, were to be applied to the ſame purpoſe, and to the payment of proteſted bonds.

When the public ſaw the national debts put in a courſe of extinction by adequate funds, the Government found it no very difficult taſk to borrow more money. Buonaparté appointed a meeting of the principal merchants and bankers of Paris, and laid before them the neceſſities of the Government, and the claims which it had on the confidence of the public, and hinted the probability of a glorious and equitable peace. He aſſured them, that the reign of plunder was ended, that ſpoliation of property could never occur under the new ſyſtem of affairs, that talent only would rule, and intrigue would be abandoned; but, that, to accompliſh theſe various laudable objects, the public treaſury muſt have recourſe to commercial men for an advance of money until the new taxes were paid. The meeting, which conſiſted of about ſeventy of the wealthieſt men in Paris, voted, by acclamation, a loan of twelve millions of livres; and Fulchiron, Recamier, Doyen, Perregaux, Mullet, Germain, and Deſſer, were nominated a commiſſion of ſeven, to put the plan into immediate conſideration.

Talleyrand ſhortly reſumed his ſituation at the head of the foreign affairs. Citizen Gronville was ſent ambaſſador to Holland, Citizen Bourgoing to Denmark. General Bournonville was appointed miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin, and Citizen Colchen, his ſecretary of legation; other arrangements were alſo made in the foreign department, preparatory to a new ſyſtem of diplomacy.

CHAPTER IV.

The new Conſtitution anticipated by the Politicians.—General Indifference of the People to its Form.—Cauſes of their approving the new Government.—Proclamation of the Conſuls announcing the Conſtitution.—Abſtract of the Conſtitution.—Rœderer's Analyſis of it.—Palaces appointed for the Reſidence of the new Government.—Coſtume.—National Oath.—Caricatures.—Manners.

VARIOUS ſpeculations occupied the attention of the Pariſians, and of the French people in general, reſpecting the new Conſtitution that was in preparation; and the jealouſy of the Republicans was not a little increaſed by the proceedings in the Council of Elders.

It was debated, whether the ſittings of the two legiſlative commiſſions ſhould be public or private. It was argued by ſome members, that if the nation received laws without having a knowledge of the diſcuſſions which preceded and prepared them, it would ceaſe to think itſelf free; that if it ſaw no longer any image of the national repreſentation, it would believe the national repreſentation not to be adjourned but annihilated; that, if the diſcuſſions were not public, it was at leaſt neceſſary there ſhould be ſittings open to all citizens, in order to proclaim publicly the laws paſſed in private ſittings; that, in ſhort, it was neceſſary to preſerve as much of the ancient form as it was poſſible, to reconcile ſome of the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire to the public opinion. It was contended by others, that the two commiſſions of the Council of Elders and

the Council of Five Hundred, in order to obtain the ends for which they were appointed, ought to labour with a rapidity, which the publicity of their proceedings would check every moment; that in public men ſpoke more frequently from vanity than from a love of truth; that the publicity was never anything elſe than apparent, for it could only be taken advantage of by one commune, and only by a ſmall number of perſons in that commune, who were almoſt incapable of comprehending and appreciating the motives of the different opinions; that, ſeeing a Council of Five Hundred, and a Council of Two Hundred and Fifty, reduced to commiſſions of twenty-five members, the public would think they beheld not an image of national repreſentation, but its deſtruction; that, in ſhort, the only thing really important to the nation was, to do quietly, and to do well; and, on that account, that quiet and ſecret ſittings were better than if the ſittings were held in public, amidſt noiſe, and ſubject to interruption. It was determined that the ſittings of the commiſſions ſhould be private, and the patriots received the deciſion as an ill omen to the liberties and independence of the country under the Conſular Government.

Whilſt a few abſtruſe thinkers preſaged the reign of a new deſpotiſm, the change was heard of with joy in the remoteſt departments. The different authorities throughout the Republic declared in its favour, and the ſentiments of the bulk of the people went with them: they ſaw that public offices were not ſaleable, that the delinquency of perſons in ſituations of truſt was puniſhed by their removal; and they relied upon a Government that had effected ſome good, for effecting more. Thoſe who had

really experienced a benefit cared not by what means its conſequences were to be ſecured, they appeared to think that they had contended long enough about forms of government; and, that, as their forms had produced only a variation of their oppreſſion, "that which was beſt adminiſter'd was beſt."

At length, on the 22d Frimaire, (13th December,) the public curioſity was gratified by an extenſive circulation of the following Addreſs of

The CONSULS *of the* REPUBLIC *to the* FRENCH.

"A Conſtitution is preſented to you for your acceptance.

"It puts an end to the uncertainties which the temporary government occaſioned in our foreign political tranſactions, and in the internal and military ſituation of the Republic.

"It eſtabliſhes, in its inſtitutions, the appointment of the firſt magiſtrates, whoſe devoted zeal has been thought neceſſary to its activity.

"*The Conſtitution is grounded on the true principles of a repreſentative government, on the ſacred rights of property, of equality, and of liberty.*

"The powers which it inſtitutes will be vigorous and permanent, ſuch as they ſhould be to enſure the rights of citizens, and the intereſts of the ſtate.

"Citizens! THE REVOLUTION is fixed on the principles from which it originated:—IT IS ENDED."

The Conſtitution itſelf formed ninety-five articles, which were arranged in ſeven chapters. It was dated Paris, the 22d Frimaire, and was ſigned by the members of the Legiſlative Committees: the ſignatures of the Conſuls followed laſt. The following is an abſtract of the moſt eſſential parts of

THE CONSULAR CONSTITUTION.

The FRENCH REPUBLIC is one and indivisible.

Every man born and resident in France, and of the age of twenty-one years, who has inscribed his name in the civic register of his communal district, and afterward remained a year on the territory of the French Republic, is a *French citizen;* and a foreigner becomes a French citizen, who, after having attained the age of twenty-one years, and declared his intention of fixing his residence in France, has resided there for ten successive years.

The title of French citizen is forfeited by various acts, and also by a state of hired servitude, either attached to the service of the person or the family.

The citizens of every communal district shall appoint, by their suffrages, those whom they think most worthy of conducting the public affairs. There shall be a list of confidence, containing a number of names equal to a tenth of the number of citizens possessing the right of suffrage; from this first communal list the public functionaries of districts shall be taken.

The citizens comprised in the communal lists of a department shall also appoint a tenth of their number; these shall constitute a second list, called The Departmental List, from which the public functionaries of each department shall be taken.

The citizens included in the Departmental List shall also appoint a tenth of their number; this third list shall consist of the citizens of each department eligible to public national functions.

The citizens who shall have a right of co-operating in the formation of any of the lists mentioned in the

three preceding articles, ſhall, every third year, be called upon to exerciſe the power of replacing thoſe who have died or abſented themſelves for any other cauſe than the exerciſe of a public function.

The CONSERVATORY SENATE ſhall be compoſed of twenty-four members, of forty years of age, at leaſt, to be immoveable during life.

For the formation of the Senate there ſhall be nominated, in the firſt inſtance, ſixty members; this number ſhall be increaſed to ſixty-two in the courſe of the eighth year, to ſixty-four in the ninth, and ſhall be gradually increaſed to eighty, by the addition of two members in each of the ten firſt years.

The nomination to the office of ſenator ſhall be by the Senate, who ſhall make choice out of three candidates preſented to them; the firſt by the Legiſlative Body, the ſecond by the Tribunate, and the third by the Chief Conſul.

They ſhall only chuſe from two candidates, if one of them is propoſed by two of the three authorities preſenting them.

The Chief Conſul, upon quitting his office, either by the expiration of his function or by reſignation, neceſſarily, and as a matter of right, becomes a ſenator. The Two other Conſuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take their ſeats in the Senate, but are not obliged to exerciſe that privilege: they loſe it altogether if they quit the conſular functions by reſignation.

The revenues of national domains, the terms of which are expired, ſhall be liable to the expenſes of the Senate; the annual ſalary of each of its members ſhall be paid out of thoſe revenues; it ſhall be equal to a twentieth of that of the Chief Conſul.

The ſittings of the Senate are not public.

Citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the Two Conſuls who are to go out of office, ſhall be nominated members of the Conſervatory Senate; they ſhall unite with the Second and Third Conſuls nominated by the preſent one. Theſe four citizens ſhall appoint the majority of the Senate, which ſhall afterward complete itſelf and proceed to the elections entruſted to its direction.

No new law ſhall be promulgated unleſs the plan ſhall have been propoſed by the Government, communicated to the Tribunate, and decreed by the Legiſlativ Body.

The TRIBUNATE is to be compoſed of one hundred members, of twenty-five years of age and upwards; they ſhall be renewed by fifths every year, and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national liſt.

The Tribunate ſhall diſcuſs the plans of every law that may be propoſed; it ſhall vote for the adoption or rejection of them, and ſhall ſend three orators to the Legiſlative Body to ſtate and ſupport its plans. It ſhall expreſs its opinion as to the laws made or to be made, the abuſes to be corrected, the ameliorations to be attempted in every part of the public adminiſtration, but never relative to the civil or criminal affairs referred to the tribunals. The opinions it ſhall give are to be followed by no neceſſary conſequence; they compel no conſtituted authority to come to any deliberation.

The LEGISLATIVE BODY ſhall be compoſed of three hundred members, of thirty years of age and upwards; they ſhall be renewed, by fifths, every year. There ought always to be one citizen, at leaſt, of each

department of the Republic preſent. The ſitting of the Legiſlative Body ſhall in every year continue only four months.

The Legiſlative Body enacts the law by ſecret ſcrutiny, and without any diſcuſſion on the part of its members, upon the plans of the law debated before it, by the orators of the Tribunate and the Government.

The ſittings of the Tribunate and of the Legiſlative Body ſhall be public; the number of ſtrangers in either of them not to exceed two hundred. The annual ſalary of a Tribune ſhall be 15,000 francs, 625l. of a Legiſlator 10,000 francs, 416l.

Every decree of the Legiſlative Body ſhall be promulgated by the Chief Conſul, unleſs it is referred to the Senate on the ground of inconſtitutionality.

The firſt renewal of the Legiſlative Body and of the Tribunate ſhall not take place till the tenth year of the Republic.

The GOVERNMENT is entruſted to THREE CONSULS, appointed for ten years, and indefinitely re-eligible: each of them is to be elected individually, with the diſtinct quality of Chief, Second, or Third Conſul. The firſt time the Third Conſul ſhall only be named for five years.

For the preſent time General BUONAPARTE is appointed CHIEF CONSUL; Citizen CAMBACERES, now Miniſter of Juſtice, *Second Conſul*; and Citizen LEBRUN, member of the Committee of Ancients, *Third Conſul*.

The Chief Conſul is to promulgate the law, to name and revoke at pleaſure the members of the Council of State, the miniſters, ambaſſadors, and other principal foreign agents; the officers of the army by

land and ſea; the members of local adminiſtration, and the commiſſioners of the Government at the tribunals. He is to appoint all judges criminal and civil, as well as juſtices of peace, and the judges of caſſation, without the power of afterward revoking them.

In the other acts of the Government the Second and Third Conſuls are to have a *conſultative* voice.

The ſalary of the Chief Conſul ſhall be 500,000 francs for the eighth year: the ſalary of the other Two Conſuls ſhall be equal to three-tenths of that of the Firſt.

The Government is to propoſe the laws, and to make the neceſſary regulations to enſure their execution.

When the Government is informed of any conſpiracies againſt the ſtate, it may iſſue orders to arreſt and bring before them the perſons who are ſuſpected as the authors or accomplices; but if, within ten days after ſuch arreſt, they are not ſet at liberty, or brought to trial, it ſhall be conſidered, on the part of the miniſter ſigning the order, as an act of arbitrary detention.

It is from among the members of the Council of State that the Orators are to be ſelected, who ſhall be appointed to appear in the name of the Government before the Legiſlative Body. There are never to be any more than three of theſe orators ſent to ſupport the ſame plan of a law.

The Government can only elect or retain as counſellers of ſtate or miniſters, ſuch citizens whoſe names are inſcribed in the national liſt.

The local adminiſtrations eſtabliſhed, whether for

each communal diſtrict or for the more extended portions of territory, are ſubordinate to the miniſters.

Every communal arondiſſement ſhall have one or more juſtices of the peace, elected immediately by citizens, for three years. Their principal duty conſiſts in reconciling the parties applying to them, and, in caſe of non-concilation, to decide their diſpute by arbitrators.

In caſes of crimes to which are annexed a corporal or infamous puniſhment, a firſt jury admits or rejects the charge: if it be admitted, a ſecond jury pronounces on the fact, and the judges compoſing a criminal tribunal apply the puniſhment: their judgment is without appeal.

The function of Public Accuſer to a criminal tribunal is filled by the Commiſſioner of Government.

The agents of Government, other than the miniſters, cannot be proſecuted for acts relating to their functions but by virtue of a deciſion of the Council of State; in this caſe the proſecution is carried on before the ordinary tribunals.

The houſe of every perſon inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable aſylum. During the night no perſon has a right to enter it, except in caſe of fire, inundation, or at the requeſt of the perſons within. In the day one may enter it for a ſpecial purpoſe, determined either by the law or an order emanating from a public authority.

A repreſentation of a perſon in cuſtody ſhall not be refuſed to his parents and friends, carrying an order from the civil officer, who ſhall be always obliged to grant it, unleſs the keeper or gaoler produces an order of a judge to keep the priſoner ſecret.

Every perſon has a right of addreſſing private pe-

titions to every conſtituted authority, and particularly to the Tribunate.

The public force is neceſſarily in a ſtate of obedience; no armed body can deliberate.

The French Nation declares, that it will grant penſions to all the military wounded in defence of their country, and alſo to the widows and children of ſuch military as have died on the field of battle, or in conſequence of their wounds. It ſhall decree national rewards to the warriors who ſhall have rendered diſtinguiſhed ſervices in fighting for the Republic.

The French Nation declares, that in no caſe will it ſuffer the return of the French, who, having abandoned their country ſince 1789, are not compriſed in the exceptions contained in the laws againſt emigrants: it interdicts every new exception on this point.

The property of emigrants, irrevocably, belongs to the Republic.

The French Nation declares, that after a ſale, legally completed, of national property, whatever may be its origin, the lawful purchaſer cannot be diſpoſſeſſed, ſaving the right of third perſons, if ſuch there ſhould be, claiming to be indemnified out of the public treaſury.

The Conſtitution was publiſhed at Paris on the 14th of December, with great pomp; and a decree immediately followed, which ordained, that the different civil officers ſhould open regiſters of acceptance and non-acceptance, to remain open fifteen days, for the ſignatures of the citizens.

Rœderer's Analyſis of the Conſular Conſtitution of France is deſerving of preſervation, becauſe it is ſim-

ple, and is eaſily committed to the memory. He eſtimates the male inhabitants of age, and paying duties as a qualification to vote, at 5,000,000 citizen voters, who reduce themſelves to 500,000 Notables of Communes; who reduce themſelves to 50,000 Notables of Departments; who reduce themſelves to 5,000 Notables of France; from whom are choſen 500 Legiſlators, Senate and Tribunate; and alſo 80 Conſervators; 2 Puiſne Conſuls; and 1 Grand Conſul; who chuſe 30 Counſellors of State, and the miniſters, ambaſſadors, commiſſioners, &c. The Senate and the Tribunate are not choſen *by* the five thouſand Notables of France, but *out* of that claſs. A body of eighty members, firſt conſtituted repreſentatives of the nation, either by a competent election or by the acquieſcence of the people, under the title of Conſervators, chuſe, firſt, all the members called to exerciſe the legiſlative power; and, ſecondly, the Three Chiefs of the executive power (Conſuls) the *firſt* of whom afterwards chooſes the miniſters and other agents of the Government.

A great portion of time was occupied by the Legiſlative Bodies in ſettling the formalities which ſhould preſent the authorities under the new Conſtitution in great parade and ſplendor to the people. It was appointed that the Conſuls and the Conſervative Senate ſhould enter upon their functions the 4th Nivoſe, 8th year (25th December, 1799.) The Conſuls were to furniſh the Conſervative Senate, the Legiſlative Body, and the Tribunate, with a guard of honour.—The Luxembourg was appointed the palace of the Conſervative Senate; the Thuilleries the palace of the Conſuls; the palace of the Council of Five Hundred was for the Legiſlative Body; and the *Palais Royale*

was aſſigned to the Tribunate. Meſſengers of ſtate and uſhers were alſo attached to theſe different functionaries.

It was not enough, however, that palaces ſhould be the dwellings of the new officers of the Republic: the pomp and circumſtance of official dignity were ſtill further encreaſed by the new dreſſes, which, after mature deliberations of the Commiſſion of Five Hundred were decreed ſhould be worn by the legiſlative as well as the executive; and even the ſecretaries, meſſengers, and uſhers, were aſſigned their *coſtume*. Open robes and cloſe habits of national blue, of light blue, of black, of grey—tri-coloured girdles, girdles of light blue, and girdles of red; ſome fringed with gold, ſome fringed with ſilk, ſome fringed with worſted, and ſome without any fringe; —collars and ſleeves embroidered, ſome with gold and others with ſilver;—ſome hats with gold taſſels, and other hats with ſilver taſſels:—theſe were the materials which the legiſlative bodies of the French Republic ſelected, and which they ſorted out, and fitted into uniforms and dreſſes by a ſenatorial decree, afterwards printed and diſtributed as a *programme*, by which the people were enabled to aſcertain the rank and dignity of the new rulers of the Republic. The variation of climate in the ſeaſons was alſo conſidered, for ſome were to wear velvet in winter, and ſilk in ſummer, whilſt others were decreed to wear cloth all the year round.

Three days after the Conſtitution was iſſued the troops were aſſembled in the Champ de Mars, and ſworn to be faithful to the new Government. The oath to be tendered to the magiſtrates and citizens became a ſubject of diſcuſſion, which ended by a

law being paſſed applicable to all thoſe who had been previouſly bound to take an oath, and which reduced the different formula of oaths and declarations to one only. The Conſtitution being conſidered the elementary rule of the duties of magiſtrates and citizens, the explicit promiſe of being faithful to the Conſtitution included the object of the former laws. It was then decreed by the new law, that the members and officers of the Government, the miniſters of every religious ſect, and the tutors of youth, ſhould ſolemnly make the following declaration: "I promiſe to be faithful to the Conſtitution," and that every other oath or declaration ſhould be aboliſhed. If there exiſts a neceſſity for an oath under any government, ſuppoſed to be founded on the will of the people, that which was thus adopted by the Conſular Government of France, is, perhaps, the moſt ſimple and the leaſt exceptionable of any that can be taken for a model.

Accuſtomed to change, and delighted with novelty, the Pariſians received the new Conſtitution, and viewed the ſplendor of the new Government with ſelf-complacency rather than with ſurpriſe; they read, and talked, and drank their coffee, and laughed. They reaſoned very little, but they hoped a great deal. Buonaparté was their idol, and they expected him to do everything for the happineſs and honour of the nation. They joked upon the old Directory, and indulged their humour in bon-mots and in caricatures; a pair of theſe prints, very well executed, formed a part of the decorations of moſt parlours in Paris. One of them repreſented a Jew, with a great quantity of finery and frippery, the coſtume of the ex-directors, and ex-legiſlators; he was crying,

"Old clothes to ſell, as good as new:" the other, alſo repreſented a Jew carrying an enormous load of conſtitutions and laws, and bawling, "Old conſtitutions and decrees to ſell, very little uſed, and very cheap." Perhaps the author of the following bill, which was placarded in the night in the ſtreets of Paris, was not quite ſo much diſpoſed to ſerve the new Government.

"POLITICAL SUBTRACTION.

From··5··Directors
Take··2,

and there remain··3··Conſuls:
From them take··2,

and there remains··1··BUONAPARTE!"

This political *badinage* ſuited the taſte, the leiſure, the playfulneſs of mind, of the Pariſians. It is in Paris, ſays an acute Frenchman, that the French ſhould be ſtudied, becauſe they are more French there than elſewhere. Yielding, alternatively and capriciouſly, to diſſipation, ambition, or what they call philoſophy; that is, to moodineſs and miſanthropy; borne away by pleaſure; tormented now by things of moment, and now by fanciful frivolities, their ideas are unconnected and contradictory, yet ſucceſſively appear of equal evidence.

At Paris men feel more than they think, act more than they plan, and plan more than they determine: they eſteem only talents and the arts of taſte; they ſcarcely have an idea of the neceſſary arts, which they enjoy without underſtanding.

In Paris a certain general indifference prevails,

which multiplies acquaintance rather than friends, and by which no man is an intruder in ſociety, nor is any one neceſſary to it; all are welcome, no one is wanted. The extreme diſſipation in which they live is the cauſe that no man is enough intereſted for another to be either difficult in choice or conſtant in connexion.

Men ſeek each other little, meet with pleaſure, give a welcome of vivacity, not of warmth, and part without regret, and without remembering that they have parted.

Manners at Paris effect that which the ſpirit of the government produces at London; in ſociety they confound and equalize ranks which are diſtinct and ſubordinate in the ſtate. All orders live in familiarity in London, becauſe the citizens are all in need of each other; they are brought together by the common intereſt.

The ſame effect is produced in Paris by pleaſure; every man is welcome who can pleaſe: but there is this difference: equality is good when it reſults from a principle of government; but the very reverſe when it reſults from manners, for it is then only the corruption of manners.

The great defect of the French is, to be always young in character; hence they are often amiable, but ſeldom ſure. They ſcarcely know an age of maturity, but paſs from youth to decline. Their talents of every kind appear early; they long lie neglected from diſſipation; and they are ſcarcely brought into uſe before their powers are loſt. Few among them enjoy the ſupport of experience.

May not this digreſſion on the manners of the French be excuſed? If we find it neceſſary to form

a judgment reſpecting an individual, we aſk what ſort of a man he is? what is his temper? what is his conduct? Do we deſire to know what changes and circumſtances are moſt likely to be uſeful or agreeable to a nation?—ought we not to inquire concerning the diſpoſition of the people? If the proper queſtions were put by an individual well read in the human heart, the ſtatiſtics of national character would no longer be a deſideratum of knowledge.

CHAPTER V.

The Second Conſul, Cambaceres.—The Third Conſul, Lebrun.—Proceedings on decreeing a National Recompenſe to the Abbe Sieyes.—Letter of Sieyes, announcing his Acceptance of one of the National Domains.—Memoirs of Sieyes.—Roger Ducos.

CAMBACERES was miniſter of juſtice at the time the new Conſtitution appointed him Second Conſul. Neither of the other Conſuls had been members of the National Convention; Cambaceres was the only one out of the Three, who had voted on the trial of the King. He declared his opinion that the King ſhould be confined, but not executed, unleſs the Republican territory were invaded by a foreign enemy. He was a man of more ſuavity of manners than vigour of intellect.

LE BRUN, the Third Conſul, poſſeſſed conſiderable talents, and was one of the members of the Committee of Ancients. He had formerly been Secretary to the Chancellor Maupeon, the moſt arbitrary and tyrannical of the miniſters of Louis XV. He had the reputation of uniting application to ability.

Before Cambaceres and Le Brun were appointed Conſuls under Buonaparté, SIEYES had been prevailed on to decline the Conſulate; this was not difficult to effect; for he ſaw that he was completely in the power of Buonaparté, becauſe Buonaparté was the man who poſſeſſed the moſt influence with the people. The retirement of Sieyes is a memorable event

in the Hiſtory of France ſince the Revolution, becauſe he had retained a very great ſhare of power over the executive Government at moſt periods ſince its commencement, and he now ſuddenly loſt it altogether.

On the 20th of December a meſſage was read to the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred, ſtating, that the Conſuls joined in a wiſh, unanimouſly manifeſted by the two Legiſlative Committees, that it ſhould decree to CITIZEN SIEYES a diſtinguiſhed proof of national gratitude. "The Citizen," ſays the meſſage, "who, after having enlightened the people by his writings, and honoured the Revolution by his diſintereſted virtues, refuſed, in the firſt inſtance, the Firſt Magiſtracy, and then only conſented to accept, in conſequence of his ſenſe of the dangers by which it was ſurrounded, is aſſuredly worthy of the diſtinction which it is your deſire ſhould be conferred upon him, and which it will be impoſſible for him to refuſe, when the organs of the law, ſhall have declared the deciſion of the Legiſlature. The Conſuls of the Republic," it continues "for the purpoſe of carrying your wiſh into effect; and in conformity to the law of the 19th Brumaire, ſubmit to you the neceſſary and formal propoſition of decreeing to Citizen Sieyes, as a pledge of national gratitude, the right of property to one of the demains at the diſpoſal of the ſtate."

This meſſage, ſigned by Buonaparté, and Roger Ducos, having been read, was referred to the Section of Finance, who, in their Report thereon, addreſſed the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred to this effect:

"It would, undoubtedly, have been ineffectual

Citizen Repreſentatives, for the glory of Citizen Sieyes to have enlightened the people by his writings, to have done honour to the Revolution by his diſintereſted virtues, and to have ſubmitted himſelf to the heavy burden impoſed upon him by the office of Firſt Magiſtrate, at a moment only when the greatneſs of the dangers rendered it worthy of his moſt anxious ſolicitude to preſerve the French name from oblivion and diſgrace.

"It is, without doubt, ſufficient for Citizen Sieyes that he has ſucceeded, by the activity of his mind, in re-conſtructing the ſocial edifice, in leaving it ſurrounded by the eſteem of the people, his cotemporaries; and, alſo, in having for the object of his cuſtomary meditations the happineſs of ſucceſſive generations.

"But, Citizen Repreſentatives, if nothing be wanting to complete the moral deſtiny of Citizen Sieyes, is it not incumbent upon us to ſignalize, by a ſtriking proof, the labours of that excellent Citizen? Is not the gratitude of the nation an inſtitution which preſerves ſocial mechaniſm?

"When, after centuries of ignorance and deſpotiſm, an uſeful diſcovery, a happy conception, an extraordinary man, a comforter of the human race, is ſeen to riſe; is it not the duty of thoſe, who, in ſuch a ſituation, find themſelves inveſted with public authority, and in whom the hopes of the nation are concentrated, to conſecrate by a national mark, and one which may addreſs itſelf to every feeling, the memory of the phenomenon which muſt ameliorate the condition of mankind?

"It is, therefore, Citizen Repreſentatives, in the nature of an appendix, inſeparable from the political

inſtitution, that you do paſs a law impoſing on Citizen Sieyes the neceſſity of accepting a ſpecial proof of national gratitude, of which the actual government muſt declare itſelf the interpreter.

"In purſuance of theſe commiſſions, your Secretary of Finance propoſes to you the following project of a Reſolution:"

The Commiſſion, taking into conſideration the urgency with reſpect to the ſtability of every political inſtitution, of confering a ſignal mark of gratitude on thoſe citizens who had rendered great ſervices to the country, adopted the following

RESOLUTION:

"The *National Domain* of CROSNE, in the department of the Seine and Oire, or ſome other, altogether equivalent to it, is decreed, with the right of property fully and entirely, to CITIZEN SIEYES, by the title of "*National Recompenſe.*".

Croſne, the eſtate thus propoſed to be given to Sieyes, is delightfully ſituated about four leagues from Paris, in a beautiful valley, near Villeneuve St. George's; and a part of its woods adjoin Gros-Bois, the ſeat of the ex-director Barras. On another ſide Croſne is bounded by the foreſt of Semart, celebrated for the laborious hermits, whoſe dwellings are there, and for its being the hunting place of the ancient ſovereigns of France. It became national property by the failure of the treaſurer of war, Serilly, who bought it for a million of livres, and who owed vaſt ſums to the nation.

The Committee of the Council of Five Hundred immediately paſſed the Reſolution which conferred

Croſne upon Sieyes, as a national Recompenſe; but which he could not take poſſeſſion of until the death of the ci-divant Marquis and Marchioneſs de Brancas, who had a life intereſt in it.

Sieyes ſignified his acceptance of the Eſtate by the following

LETTER TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

"CITIZENS REPRESENTATIVES,

"The Miniſter of Juſtice has juſt tranſmitted to me the law, decreeing to me a national reward:

"Permit me to expreſs, how deeply I am penetrated with gratitude to you for ſo honourable a mark of your eſteem."

(Health and reſpect), "SIEYES."

Few men who were engaged in the Revolution had more entirely devoted themſelves to politics than Sieyes; and he is one of the many inſtances of individuals who have ariſen by talents and ſuperior genius to conſiderable rank as ſtateſmen.

SIEYES was born at Frejus in the year 1748, the town where Buonaparté landed on his return from Egypt. Educated for the prieſthood he took orders, and became a cure. He was preferred to be a vicar-general, and then a canon: afterwards he roſe to the chancellorſhip of the church of Chartres; and was, at length, inveſted with the permanent adminiſtrative employment of counſellor commiſſary in Paris. To this he was nominated by the dioceſe of Chartres: it was never given but to the ſuperior clergy of France. He was eſteemed a learned civilian and canoniſt, and poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of knowledge in the belles-lettres; his favourite ſtudies, however, were politics, metaphyſics, and economics. He ſpent the

greateſt part of his time in Paris, where he aſſociated with D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and the other literati. He was a member of the Economical Society, which held its ſittings in the hotel of the Chancellor Seguier.

Notwithſtanding his excellent qualifications and connexions, it is probable that Sieyes would not have emerged from obſcurity if the Revolution had not brought him into a ſituation to diſplay his talents. Being appointed a deputy to the States General, he began his career by the publication entitled, "What is the Tiers Etât?" This work became, at the time, the moſt faſhionable book in Paris.

After the meeting of the *Tiers Etât* at Verſailles, he was the perſon who propoſed that they ſhould call themſelves "The Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the French People;" and he ſupported his project with conſiderable ability.

When the miſunderſtanding between the orders in the States General aſſumed a ſerious aſpect, and great numbers of troops were drawn about the Capital, the deputies in the popular intereſt had reaſon to be apprehenſive for their ſafety. Sieyes, in the ſitting of the 8th of July, ſtated to the Aſſembly, that no troops ſhould be allowed to approach nearer than ten leagues to the place in which the States General were ſitting; and he propoſed an addreſs to the King, deſiring that he would order the troops to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Verſailles.

Sometime previouſly to the month of October, when the King was attacked in his palace by the mob, a ſecret committee, conſiſting of the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, La Clos, and the Abbe Sieyes, was formed in a village near Paris. They had agreed

upon a ſcheme for placing the Duke of Orleans in ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſituation in the government, that he could not fail to have the command of the populace, and, conſequently, poſſeſs a deciſive weight in the National Aſſembly; SIEYES was then a zealous Royaliſt.

In the year 1791, when it was thought that the King, by attempting his eſcape, had abdicated the crown, a combination was formed, conſiſting of Condorcet and Briſſot in France, and of Paine in England, for the publication of a periodical paper under the title of "The Republican." Sieyes actually publiſhed ſome anſwers to papers which appeared in this publication, and declared his intentions to ſupport a monarchy againſt a republic by every means in his power.

"It is ſaid by many," obſerves Sieyes, in one of his publications, "that I am taking advantage of our preſent ſituation to embrace Republicaniſm. Hitherto no one has ever thought of accuſing me of too much flexibility in my principles, or of changing my opinion eaſily, to ſuit the faſhion of the times.

"Honeſt men, to whom alone I can addreſs myſelf, have but three ways of judging of the ſentiments of any perſon; by his actions, his words, and his writings. I offer theſe three kinds of proof.

"It is not to flatter ancient cuſtoms, nor through any ſuperſtitious regard to royalty, that I prefer Monarchy.—I prefer it, becauſe it is clear to me that the citizen enjoys more liberty under a Monarchy than under a Republic; every other motive of preference appears puerile to me. The beſt ſocial ſyſtem, in my opinion, is that by which not one, or only a few, but ALL, tranquilly enjoy the greateſt poſſible latitude of liberty: if I diſcern this character in the monarchical ſtate, it is clear that I ought to prefer it above all

others; and I hope to prove, not that Monarchy is preferable in any particular circumſtances, but that, in every caſe, men are more free under it than in a Republic."

Theſe obſervations were remarked upon by Paine; who, in a Letter to Sieyes, which appeared in "The Morning Poſt," pledged himſelf to demonſtrate, within a certain number of pages of "The Republican," the converſe of the propoſition that the Abbe maintained; and alſo to prove, that a Republic was, of all other forms, the beſt ſuited to promote the welfare of the people.

Sieyes was the author of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," which was decreed by the National Aſſembly. It was written in his uſual metaphyſical manner, and excited very different ſenſations in every country of Europe. In 1792 Sieyes was appointed a member of the National Convention. When the Convention voted the puniſhment of Louis, ſuch was the influence of Sieyes, that a great number of members reſerved themſelves till they had heard his opinion. It was, conſequently, underſtood, upon that opinion would depend the fate of the King.—Sieyes, at length, mounted the tribune: an awful ſilence pervaded the anxious Aſſembly! he, however, interrupted the ſolemn pauſe with only five words: *Je ſuis pour la mort!* "I am for death!" and inſtantly withdrew.

From this time he was ſo far concealed from the public eye that it was not known whether he was dead or alive. It was ſaid, by the Pariſians, that he directed, from his philoſophical retreat, many of the atrocities which were committed under the reign of Robeſpierre, but of this there appears no proof what-

ever. From the death of this tyrant till February 1795, he ſtill remained behind the curtain, and did not appear upon the ſtage until he was certain there was no danger of the Mountain regaining their aſcendancy. In order to make his apology for having thus abſented himſelf from buſineſs during two years, he publiſhed Memoirs of his own Life, the ſubſtance of which publication was to lament that the Mountain party had abuſed his definitions of the Rights of Man; and to ſtate that his ſyſtem had been intended only as the ſkeleton of civil ſociety.

From this period began the moſt brilliant career of Sieyes's public life. Having obtained the eſteem and confidence of his colleagues, he was fixed upon to regulate the external relations of the Republic. He it was who ſuggeſted the ſcheme of concluding ſeparate treaties with the coaleſced powers, with the view to create ſuch a miſunderſtanding as would prove fatal to the royal confederacy. The ſubſequent conduct of the European cabinets appeared for a time to evince that Sieyes was right in his conjectures, and proved, that a vicar of Chartres had outwitted all the experienced ſtateſmen in Europe.

The plans of Sieyes for the aggrandizement of the French Republic were developed in April 1795. He adviſed his colleagues to retain the Auſtrian Netherlands, and was the firſt projector of the alliance with Holland: he went himſelf to the Hague, as French plenipotentiary, for the purpoſe of concluding that famous treaty. Thoſe who did not comprehend the deſigns of Sieyes highly diſapproved of a treaty with a petty power, not geographically united to France, and whoſe democratic conſtitution had not been acknowby the King of Pruſſia, brother-in-law to the *ci-devant*

Stadtholder. Even the greater part of his colleagues, in the Committee of Public Safety, were of opinion that the Netherlands ſhould be reſtored to Auſtria; and as late as the month of Auguſt in that year, Boiſſy d'Anglois gave his opinion in the Committee, that the Emperor would rather endanger his crown than relinquiſh thoſe important poſſeſſions. France, however, kept them, and if the Emperor did endanger his crown France was no loſer by it.

So ſignal were the ſervices thus performed by Sieyes to his country, that, at the time of the adoption of the new Conſtitution, he was elected one of the Five members of the Executive Directory, which he, however, declined. In February 1796 he was appointed a member of the National Inſtitute, in the claſs of metaphyſics and morals; and, by what has been called an unaccountable ſingularity of choice, the very ſame man who had declined a place in the Executive Directory of the Republic accepted of a chair of literature in the central ſchool at the College de Mazarine!

It was ſaid, in May 1796, that Sieyes was the author of the peace between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia; which is highly probable, becauſe he continued to direct the external policy of the Directory nearly in the ſame manner as he formerly directed that of the Committee of Public Safety. A treaty ſo diſgraceful to an independent ſovereign could ſcarcely have been wiſhed for even, by the moſt inveterate Republican.

In the ſpring of 1797 he very narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination, with a piſtol, by the Abbe Poulle. During the latter part of that year he was abuſed by ſuch a number of lampoons and paſquinades, that he was

obliged to quit Paris upon the entrance of the new Third into the Legiſlature, and did not dare to come out of his retreat till the violent criſis of the 4th of September, he then became one of the moſt active members of the Legiſlature. After this he was appointed ambaſſador to the court of Berlin, where he rendered eſſential ſervice to the Republic, by his ſucceſsful exertions to preſerve the friendſhip of the King of Pruſſia, which remained indiſſoluble during a moſt momentous conteſt. It has been ſuppoſed, and with tolerable confidence, that the King of Pruſſia was not unacquainted with the projects of Sieyes in regard to the late revolution in France: it is certain that a very extraordinary and marked reſpect was paid to this ambaſſador during the time of his reſidence in Pruſſia. During his miſſion at Berlin the anniverſary of the King's birthday occurred: Sieyes went to court; and, when he arrived, the other ambaſſadors, who were there early, had taken their places. The chamberlain of ſtate was much embarraſſed, not knowing where to place the French envoy without interrupting the diplomatic coterie. Sieyes immediately ſaid, "*N' importe*—the *firſt place* will always be that which is occupied by the ambaſſador of the French Republic;" and he took with much good humour the earlieſt vacancy that preſented itſelf. When he returned to France, the King not only attended him in perſon to the frontiers of his territory, but preſented him with his portrait, ſet in gold, and richly ornamented with diamonds.

On Sieyes arriving in France from Pruſſia he was elected one of the Directory, where his influence was unbounded; and he gave accelerated motion to the wheels of government. Thus ſituated, he found little

difficulty in obtaining means in conjunction with Buonaparté to effect the late revolution. He had ſufficient influence not only in the Directory but in the Councils to carry almoſt any meaſure he choſe. This influence he turned to the accompliſhment of his deſigns, without, at that time, being ſuſpected of any intentions inimical to the conſtitution, which we now ſee it was his fixed determination to deſtroy.

Sieyes does not at any time appear to have poſſeſſed the affections of the French people. Never humouring their follies, and reſerved and ambitious, they always viewed him with jealouſy; the aſſiſtance of a man poſſeſſed of Buonaparté's popularity ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his projects.

The Conſular, as well as each preceding conſtitution, was aſcribed to Sieyes. He certainly contributed much towards it; and his experience in this department of political ſcience is celebrated by Edmund Burke, in language which that luminous writer did not intend ſhould be taken for praiſe. "Abbe Sieyes" obſerves he, "has whole neſts of pigeon-holes full of conſtitutions ready made, ticketed, ſorted, and numbered, ſuited to every ſeaſon and every fancy; ſome with the top of the pattern at the bottom, and ſome with the bottom at the top; ſome plain, ſome flowered; ſome diſtinguiſhed for their ſimplicity, others for their complexity; ſome of blood-colour; ſome of *bone de Paris*; ſome with directories, others without a direction; ſome with councils of elders, and councils of youngers; ſome without any council at all: ſome where the electors

chooſe the repreſentatives, others where the repreſentatives chooſe the electors; ſome in long coats, and ſome in ſhort cloaks; ſome with pantaloons; ſome with breeches; ſome with five ſhilling qualifications; ſome totally unqualified! So that no conſtitution fancier may go unſuited from this ſhop, &c."

The meed of patriotiſm has been aſcribed to Sieyes, for having ſacrificed his power to the ſecurity and tranquillity of the French nation. It is, however, the general opinion, that he had diſcloſed his views to Buonaparté too far to retreat; that he did not diſcover his error till it was too late; that he afterwards repented giving Buonaparté his aſſiſtance to his own ultimate excluſion from the government; and that his acceptance of the eſtate of Croſne was merely becauſe he was not in a condition to make any better terms with Buonaparté. Never was man more belied than Sieyes if by his elevation of Buonaparté he did not unintentionally commit political ſuicide.

The Conſervative Senate afterwards choſe Sieyes their Preſident; but his career as a ſtateſman had ended. He, at length, became a ſimple ſenator.

The ex-director and ex-conſul, Roger Ducos, had ſerved in conjunction with Sieyes; and, at his inſtigation, aſſiſted the advancement of Buonaparté; he was only of conſequence to them from his official ſituation. He was unknown nearly by name until he had been appointed a director; and, although eſteemed an honeſt man, he diſplayed very little judgment or ability in his official ſituation. Buonaparté aſſigned him a ſeat in one of the Councils, where he was afterwards choſen preſident.

CHAP. VI.

Important Proceeding of the Conſular Government.—Various intereſting Proclamations to the Armies, &c.

POWER has been ſaid to have an unknown, an occult quality, which depraves and ſecretly operates a change in the pureſt intentions of the mind, but power is merely the being at liberty to act in the way moſt agreeable to the diſpoſition; and hence, a man who attains power is free to act well or ill, according as he chooſes of good or of evil. If, then, any perſons who in ſtriving for power, make profeſſions of purity, and, when they have attained their object, become politically profligate, it is not the poſſeſſion of power that has changed their diſpoſition, it is the diſpoſition ſhewing itſelf for the firſt time after it could be indulged in ſafety, and without the fear of controul.

The annals of hiſtory, and, unfortunately, the hiſtory of our own times, abound with inſtances of men proteſting, in the face of all the world, againſt the wanton abuſe of power and of influence, and, afterwards, on attaining power, inſtead of exerciſing it for the public good, ſhameleſsly proſtituting themſelves, and ſacrificing their honeſt ſupporters to baſe and corrupt purpoſes. With ſome of the profeſſions of Buonaparté we are acquainted; we alſo partly know with what view ſome of them were made, and how they were kept; and now, on his having attained ſovereign power, we ſhall have to obſerve his other profeſſions, and to examine if his conduct be conſiſtent.

A Decree of the Conſuls on the 3d Nivoſe (24th December) arranged the Council of State. It was a general aſſembly, compoſed of from thirty to forty members; the firſt Conſul was Preſident, and in his abſence one of the two other Conſuls. The miniſters were allowed to aſſiſt at its ſittings, but not to vote. The Counſellors of State were divided into five ſections. 1. Finance. 2. Civil and Criminal Legiſlation. 3. War. 4. Marine. 5. The Interior. The different laws propoſed by the miniſters were to originate in the ſections; and when a law had been drawn up in proper form the Conſuls were to be informed of it, and the Firſt Conſul was to convoke the General Aſſembly of the Council of State, where the project of the law was to be diſcuſſed, and the opinion of the ſitting thereon was to be tranſmitted to the Conſuls. If the Conſuls approved the law, it was to be referred by them to the Legiſlative Body, by one or more orators choſen by the Conſuls. The Council of State were likewiſe empowered to decide on differences ariſing between the Adminiſtration and the Tribunals, and to explain the meaning of the laws on queſtions propoſed by the Conſuls. Each of the Counſellors of State was entitled to a ſalary of 25,000 livres. General Brune was appointed Preſident of the Section of War; Admiral Gantheaume Preſident of the Marine; Defermont, Preſident of the Finances; Boulay Preſident of Juſtice; Rœderer Preſident of the Section of the Interior; Citizen Chaptal received the appointment of Miniſter of Public Inſtruction; Citizen Dufreſne Miniſter of the Treaſury; Citizen Regnier Miniſter of the National Domains; Citizen Localies had the ſuperintendance of the Colonies;

and Citizen Cretet was charged with the adminiſtration of the Public Works; Lucien Buonaparté was appointed Miniſter of the Interior; and Abrial Miniſter of Juſtice; thoſe of the other departments were re-appointed.

An immenſe concourſe of citizens attended the inſtallation of the Conſuls, which was performed on the 4th Nivoſe, with great pomp. The Council of State held their firſt ſitting, and the Firſt Conſul preſided, accompanied by the other Conſuls and the Miniſters of the Government, who preſented their different reports. In the evening the following Proclamation was diſperſed in great quantities throughout all the Departments.

"LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

"IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"The 4th Nivose, (25th of December, 1799,) 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"BONAPARTE, *Firſt Conſul of the Republic, to the* FRENCH.

"To render the Republic dear to the citizens, reſpectable to foreigners, and formidable to the enemy, ſuch are the duties which we have contracted by accepting the Firſt Magiſtracy.

"The citizens will always cheriſh the Republic, if the laws and the acts of authority are conſtantly diſtinguiſhed by order, by juſtice, and by moderation.

"Without order adminiſtration is but confuſion; no revenue, no public credit, the reſources of the ſtate and private fortunes are loſt.

"Without juſtice, there are nothing but factions, tyrants, and victims.

"Moderation ſtamps an auguſt character upon governments and nations. It is always ſtrong, and inſures permanency to ſocial inſtitutions.

"The Republic will be reſpected by foreigners if ſhe reſpects their independence as well as her own; if her engagements, prepared by wiſdom, and contracted with ſincerity, are faithfully fulfilled.

"She will be formidable to the enemy, if her armies and her fleets are well diſciplined and well commanded; if every ſoldier and every ſailor lives always as happy as in the boſom of his own family, with a conſtant ſucceſſion of virtues and of glory; if every officer, inſtructed by a long application, is regularly promoted, as a reward for his talents and his ſervices.

"On ſuch principles depend the ſtability of government, the ſucceſs of commerce and of agriculture; the greatneſs and proſperity of nations.

"According to ſuch principles we ſhall be judged.

"Frenchmen! we have told you our duties, it will be for you to tell us whether we have fulfilled them.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE.

"By the Firſt Conſul's command,

"BERNARD HUGUES MARET, Secretary of State."

But, whilſt he thus addreſſed "the French people," Buonaparté knew the means which were eſſential to their unanimity. He knew, that, amidſt factions, the power that would cement the people was force, and not opinion; he knew that he appealed to the people againſt every conviction, but what arms impoſed upon them, and that upon the "French *army*" depended the ſtability of the Government. The arming of the citizens had long been abandoned; for, although ſome were permitted to form themſelves into armed bands, yet they were ſo few, when compared with the numbers which ruſhed forward, at the commencement of the Revolution, againſt the common enemy, that, had they oppoſed any meaſure of the Government, a few regiments

could have cut them to pieces. The people had been disarmed because every faction found itself at the head of an army, every disgust excited commotion, and every commotion became a civil war.

The soldiery, who had been of the people, and formerly mingled with the people, were now separated from them, and their entire dependence and attachment to the Executive Government were by no means auspicious to liberty; for though, by circumstances and situation, they might even be entitled to a share of any freedom the people possessed, yet, the people had no security that the army would not assist in the execution of measures that might enslave their kindred and their country. The army of Cesar destroyed the Roman republic, and the army of Cromwell dissolved the sittings of the representatives of the people of England; and though the French soldiers had fought for the independence of their country, the people were neither sure that they would not turn their arms against their fellow citizens, at the instigation of an aspiring Chief, nor that a military tyranny would not be established upon the ruins of former despotisms.

Aware that the consolidation of power could not be effected amidst the struggle of factions, Buonaparté courted the applause of the army and the good-wil of the generals. Various promotions secured him the approbation of his officers; and largesses and rewards, and the following Proclamation, profusely distributed through the ranks, flattered the vanity and excited the emulation of the private men:

"BONAPARTE, *First Consul of the Republic, to the* FRENCH SOLDIERS.

"SOLDIERS!

"When I promised peace to the French nation, I spoke your sentiments; I knew your courage: you are the same men who conquered Holland, the Rhine, and Italy, and who commanded peace before the walls of terrified Vienna.

"Soldiers! you must not defend your frontiers now; you must invade the territories of your enemy.

"There is not one among you who has not made several campaigns, who is not convinced that the first quality of a soldier is that of putting up with inconveniencies without regret.

"Several years of a bad administration cannot be effaced in a day.

"First Magistrate of the Republic, it will be highly gratifying to me in letting the whole nation know which are the troops entitled by their discipline and their courage, to be proclaimed the defenders of the country.

"Soldiers! in due time I will be among you; and Europe shall remember that you belong to a race of heroes.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

Paris, 25th Dec. 8th Year.

Massena, who had been appointed to the command of the army of Italy, was introduced to his comrades by a message of the First Consul; a recommendation flattering to the new commandant, because it was well received by the soldiers. Buonaparté had fought with them, and conquered with them; they owed their victories to his valour and his genius, and they hailed with respect, and cheered with enthusiasm the following

PROCLAMATION.

"BONAPARTE, *First Conſul of the Republic, to the Army of* ITALY.

"SOLDIERS!

"The circumſtances which keep me at the head of government hinder me from being among you.

"Your wants are great: every meaſure is taken to aſſiſt you.

"The firſt qualities of a ſoldier are conſtancy and diſcipline: courage comes next.

"Soldiers! ſeveral corps have deſerted their poſts; they have been deaf to the voice of their officers. The 17th light demi-brigade is among the number.

"Are then the heroes of Caſtiglione, of Rivoli, and of Newmarck all dead? they would have periſhed rather than deſert their banners; and they would have prevailed on their young comrades to remain faithful to their honour and to their duty.

"Soldiers! you ſay that you are often deprived of your allowance: what would you have done, if, like the light 4th and 22d, and the 18th and 32d demi-brigades of the line, you had found yourſelves in the midſt of a deſart, without bread or water, eating horſe's and mule's fleſh? *Victory will give us bread*, they ſaid; and you! you deſert your banners!

"Soldiers of the army of Italy, a new General (Maſſéna) commands you; he was always the foremoſt in your moſt glorious days. Rely on him; he will ſoon again render you victorious.

"I ſhall order that a daily report be made to me about the conduct of all the corps, and chiefly of the light 17th and of the 63d of the line demi-brigades. They will recollect my former confidence in them.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

"The general, commander in chief of the army of Italy, ſhall direct that the above Proclamation of the Firſt Conſul of the Republic be mentioned and inſerted in the general orders, and read to every company.

"ALEX. BERTHIER, Miniſter of War."

An elegant ſabre which had been intended as preſent to the Grand Seignior, until the expedition to Egypt had rendered French preſents unacceptable to the Porte, was ſent to General St. Cyr, by the order of Buonaparté.

"IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"5th Nivose, (26th of Dec.) 8th Year of the Republic.

"BONAPARTE, *Firſt Conſul of the Republic, to the General of Diviſion*, ST. CYR.

"The Miniſter of War has informed me, Citizen General, of the victory which you have obtained over the left wing of the Auſtrian army.

"Receive, as a mark of my ſatisfaction, a beautiful ſabre, which you will wield when you fight our enemies.

"Let the ſoldiers under your command know that I am ſatisfied with their conduct, and that I hope to be ſo much more ſtill.

"The Miniſter of War ſends to you the commiſſion of firſt lieutenant of the army.

"Rely on my eſteem and on my friendſhip.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

St. Domingo, that important colony, wherein inſurrection had reared itſelf in various forms, demanded the regard of the new Government; and the inhabitants attached to the French intereſt were, unexpectedly, gratified by a conciliatory

ADDRESS.

"*The Conſuls of the* FRENCH REPUBLIC *to the Citizens of* ST. DOMINGO.

"CITIZENS!

"A Conſtitution which could not ſupport itſelf againſt multiplied violations, is replaced by a new compact, deſtined to confirm liberty.

"The 91ſt article imports that the French Colonies ſhall be governed by their exiſting laws.

"This diſpoſition reſults from the nature of things, and the difference of climate.

"The difference of habits, manners, and intereſts of ſoil, culture and productions, requires particular modifications.

"One of the firſt acts of the new Legiſlature ſhall be ſimplifying the laws deſtined to govern you.

"Far from their being a ſubject of alarm to you, you will perceive in them the wiſdom and profound knowledge which animate the Legiſlators of France.

"The Conſuls of the Republic, in informing you of the new Conſtitution, declare to you, that the ſacred principles of liberty and equality of the Blacks, ſhall never ſuffer the ſmalleſt alteration.

"If, in the colony of St. Domingo, there be ſtill diſaffected men, who correſpond with our enemies; brave Blacks! remember that only the French people acknowledge your liberty and the equality of your rights.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

General Augereau received the command of the army of Holland, which was announced to him by a public act of the Firſt Conſul.

"BONAPARTE, *Firſt Conſul of the Republic, to* GENERAL AUGEREAU, *Commander in Chief of the French army in Holland.*

"Paris, the 8th Nivoſe, 8th Year (29th Dec. 1799.)

"I have promoted you, Citizen General, to the important ſtation of Commander in Chief of the French army in Holland.

"In every act which ſuch a command may require of you, always ſhew yourſelf above all thoſe pitiful debates, which unfortunately, for theſe ten years, have been the cauſe of the internal diſſentions in France.

"The glory of the Republic is due to the blood of our comrades: we do not belong to any faction, but to the whole nation.

"Should circumſtances compel me to put myſelf at the head of an army, you may reſt aſſured that I will not

leave you in Holland, for I ſhall never forget the brilliant action at Caſtiglione.

" I ſalute you.

(Signed) " BONAPARTE."

A moſt important Proclamation alſo preceded the march of a large military force into the Weſtern Departments:

PROCLAMATION.

" LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

" 7th Nivose, (December 28th) eighth Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible

" *The Conſuls of the Republic to the inhabitants of the Weſtern Departments.*

" An impious war threatens again with deſolation the Weſtern Departments: it is the duty of the firſt magiſtrates of the Republic to ſtop its progreſs, and to deſtroy its very cauſe. But they will not employ compulſion, before the means of perſuaſion and of juſtice be exhauſted.

" The authors of thoſe commotions are the ſenſeleſs tools of two men, who have neither honoured their rank by virtues nor their misfortunes by achievements. They are deſpiſed by foreign courts, whoſe hatred they have kindled without ſucceeding to engage them fairly in their behalf.

" Thoſe tools are traitors paid by England, and ſubſervient to its rage; or merely robbers, who are eager to avail themſelves of political diſſentions in order to enſure plunder and impunity to their crimes.

" To ſuch men government will not make any declaration of principles, nor ſhew any kind of indulgence.

" But there are Citizens, dear to the country, who have been miſled, and to whom it is but juſtice to explain the true principles of the preſent Government.

" Unjuſt laws have been enacted and enforced; arbitrary acts have alarmed the ſafety of citizens, and the freedom of religious opinions. Many perſons throughout

France, have been inſcribed on the fatal liſts of Emigrants, although they had never abandoned their country, nor even their houſes. In ſhort, the chief principles of ſocial order have been violated.

"With a view to atone for thoſe violations and thoſe errors, the French nation has proclaimed and acknowledged a government grounded on the ſacred principles of liberty, of equality, and of the repreſentative ſyſtem.

"The conſtant wiſh, as well as the intereſt and the glory of the Firſt Magiſtrates, whom the people have inſtituted, will tend to heal up all the wounds of the revolution. And ſuch a wiſh has been already known by all thoſe who have paid any attention to their firſt acts.

"Thus the diſaſtrous law of the forced loan, the ſtill more diſaſtrous law of hoſtages, have been repealed. Several perſons, tranſported without trial or judgment, have been reſtored to their families. Every day is, and will be, marked by acts of juſtice. And the Council of State is conſtantly employed to deviſe the repeal of bad laws, and a better mode of taxation.

"The Conſuls declare further, that the liberty of public worſhip is eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution; that no magiſtrate can interrupt it; that no man can tell to another, —*Thou ſhalt not worſhip ſo, and but on ſuch a day.*

"The law of the 11th Prairial, third year, (May 31. 1795,) which allows the meetings in the churches, ſhall be enforced.

"Every department muſt be equally governed by the general laws; but the Firſt Magiſtrates will always allow a more conſiderable ſhare of encouragement to agriculture, to manufactures and commerce, to thoſe departments where the civil war has raged.

"Government will pardon thoſe who will repent; its indulgence will have no bounds. But whoever, after this Declaration, will ſtill dare to reſiſt the national ſovereignty, ſhall find no mercy.

"Frenchmen! inhabitants of the Weſtern departments, ſtand by a conſtitution which truſts to the magiſtrates it has inſtituted, the means and the duty to protect the citizens, who can alſo abide by juſt and conſtant laws.

"Let thoſe who have at heart the glory of France ſeparate themſelves from ſuch men as would ſtill endeavour to miſlead them, in order to reduce them under a tyrannical yoke or a foreign deſpotiſm.

"Let the peaceful country-people enter their homes again, and re-aſſume their uſeful labours; they muſt not liſten to the inſinuations of thoſe who would wiſh to ſee them again under the fœdal ſlavery.

"If, in ſpite of all the meaſures adopted by Government, ſome men could ſtill be found daring enough to provoke the civil war, the Firſt Magiſtrates would then be ſadly compelled to force them to ſubmiſſion.

"But ſuch will not be the caſe. Every man will only feel the love of his country. The miniſters of a God of Peace will be the firſt to adviſe and bring about a reconciliation. Let them be the teachers of thoſe precepts which they learnt from their Divine Maſter: Let them go into thoſe churches which are again opened for them, offer, with their fellow citizens, thoſe prayers which will atone for the crimes of the war, and for the blood it has ſpilt.

(Signed) "The Firſt Conſul, BONAPARTE.

"By the Firſt Conſul's commands,

"The Secretary of State, HUGUES BERNARD MARET.

"The Miniſter of Juſtice, ABRIAL."

Theſe, and various other official declarations and addreſſes of the Government, were received by the people with complacency. They ſaw the Chief Conſul armed with more than ſufficient power to enforce the obedience of his Decrees, and, whilſt his acts were tempered by juſtice, and promiſed ſecurity to the peaceable citizens, no one had any right or

inclination to complain that the refractory were threatened and punished.

Buonaparté, whilſt conciliating the diſpoſition of the French people, received from the Burgomaſters of Hamburgh a ſubmiſſive appeal on the unfortunate arreſt of Napper Tandy, and his comrades in that city. They deprecated the diſpleaſure of the new Government, and hoped that the Conſuls would exculpate them from the charges of inſult to the French nation, and relieve the inhabitants from the apprehenſions of ſeverity which were entertained from the violent denunciations of the Directory; the anſwer of Buonaparté was as conciſe, as the letter of the Hamburghers was verboſe:

"Your letter Gentlemen," ſaid he, "is no juſtification of your conduct."

"It is by courage and virtue that ſtates are preſerved, cowardice and vice prove their ruin.

"You have violated the laws of hoſpitality; ſuch a violation would not have taken place among the barbarian hordes of the deſart. Your fellow citizens will impute it to you as an eternal reproach.

"The two unfortunate men whom you have given up will die illuſtrious; but their blood will be a ſource of greater evils to their perſecutors, than could be brought upon them by a whole army."

The hopes of the Hamburghers were abated by the firmneſs of the Chief Conſul; and, as they could not eſcape the vengeance of the Republic, they awaited it in ſadneſs and in ſilence.

CHAPTER VII.

State of the Catholic Church in France during the Revolution.—Hopes of the Religious on the Appointment of the Conſuls.—Struggles of the ſpiritual Factions for Aſcendancy.—Catholic Queſtion.—Anecdote of an Engliſh Law Lord—Treatment of Pope Pius VI.—Government of Rome.

AT the time the Conſular Conſtitution was adopted, there were in the different departments of the Republic from thirty-five to forty thouſand churches wherein divine ſervice had been regularly performed. It is a groſs error to ſuppoſe that the Chriſtian Religion was at any time extinguiſhed in France.

The laſt general aſſembly of the clergy of France, held in 1789, preſented facts which announced that the neceſſity of reforming abuſes was felt, and that the epoch when a reform would take place was foreſeen. In this aſſembly ſeveral biſhops ſpoke with much force on the ſubject.

The diſaſtrous ſtate of the finances, occaſioned a deficit which it was neceſſary to make good. The enormous eſtates of the clergy excited the envy of the people, and every eye regarded it as a mean to be employed in the liquidation of the national debt.

In the *Moniteur*, and other journals of the time, may be ſeen what ſucceſſive ſteps gradually led to the abolition of tythes, and the deciſion which placed the eſtates of the clergy at the diſpoſal of the nation.

The civil conſtitution of the clergy was a ſevere check given to many abuſes. It ſeemed to reſtore to the Gallican Church the diſcipline of the firſt

ages. It ſnatched from the Pope the power of giving the canonical inſtitution to biſhops; and thoſe who taxed with novelty this conſtitution, were referred to hiſtory for proofs, that, during twelve hundred years, biſhops received the canonical inſtitution from the metropolitans and not from the Pope; that to tax with intruſion the conſtitutional biſhops, and to condemn them becauſe they had received that inſtitution from the metropolitans, was to condemn the firſt twelve centuries of Chriſtianity.

This civil conſtitution ſerved as a pretext to the dignified clergy, irritated at the loſs of their eſtates, for concerting a combined reſiſtance to the new laws, in the hope that this reſiſtance would lead to a ſubverſion which would reſtore to them their riches. Thence the refuſal of the oath, "To be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king, to guide faithfully the flock inſtructed to their care, and to maintain with all their power the conſtitution decreed by the aſſembly, and ſanctioned by the king." Thence the line of diviſion between the clergy who had taken the oath and thoſe who had not.

The Conſtituent Aſſembly, who had decreed the above oath, declared, that the refuſal of giving this pledge of fidelity ſhould be conſidered as a voluntary reſignation. The royal ſanction had rendered the above decree a law of the ſtate. Almoſt the whole of the biſhops, a great number of rectors, and other eccleſiaſtics, refuſed to take this oath, already taken by ſeveral among them who were deputies to the Aſſembly.

They were, in conſequence, declared to have reſigned; and meaſures were taken for ſupplying their

place. The people proceeded to effect this by electors authorized by law. A respectable number of ecclesiastics, who had already submitted to the law, accepted the elections. These priests thought that obedience to the national authority, which respected and protected religion, was a catholic principle. What resistance could be made to legitimate power, which neither attacked the principles, the morality, nor the interior and essential discipline of the church? It was, say they, resisting God himself. They thought that the pastor was chosen and sent solely for the care of the flock intrusted to him; that, when difficult circumstances, flight, for instance, voluntary or forced, or the prohibition from all functions, pronounced by the civil power, rendered the holy ministry impossible; or that the pastor could not exercise it without declaring himself in open insurrection, the pretended irremoveable rights then ceased, with the sacred duties which they could not discharge without being accused of rebellion.

The dissentient bishops drew many priests into their party. Most of them spread themselves over Europe, where they calumniated at their ease the patriotic clergy. Those of their adherents who had remained in the interior of France kindled a civil war, tormented people's besotted consciences, and disturbed the peace of families, &c. This conduct, which encreased the horror of the sanguinary scenes in La Vendée, provoked violent measures on the part of the Government.

"Enemies without and within," said the constitutional clergy, "wish to create a disgust to liberty, by substituting to it licentiousness." And, indeed, the partisans of the dissentient clergy were seen to

coaleſce with the atheiſts and the unbelievers, in order to produce the religious diſorders which broke out everywhere in the year 1793.

The clergy, who had taken the oath, had organized the dioceſes; the biſhops, in general, had beſtowed great pains in ſetting preachers in every pariſh. They preached themſelves, and this was, indeed, a contraſt to the indolence of their predeceſſors, who, engaged in ſpending, frequently in a ſhameful manner, immenſe revenues, ſeldom or never viſited their dioceſes. The conſtitutional clergy, following a plan more conformable to the goſpel, gained the affection of the well-diſpoſed part of the nation.

Theſe prieſts were of opinion, that the ſtorm which threatened religion, required imperiouſly the immediete preſence of the paſtor, and that in the day of battle it was neceſſary to be in perſon at the breach. They were of opinion that the omiſſion or impoſſibility of fulfilling minute and empty formalities, impoſed by a Concordat, rejected from the beginning by all the public bodies and the church of France, and annihilated, at the moment, by the will of the repreſentatives of the nation, ſanctioned by royal authority, could not exempt them from accepting holy functions preſented by all the conſtituted authorities, and on which, evidently, depended the preſervation of religion, the ſalvation of the faithful, and the peace of the ſtate.

But, when perſecution manifeſted itſelf, the clergy who had taken the oath became equally the victims of perſecuting rage. Some failed in this conjuncture; but the greater number remained intrepid in their principles. Accordingly, ſeveral conſtitutional biſhops and prieſts were dragged to the ſcaffold. If,

on the one hand, the daſtardly Gobel was guillotined, the ſame fate attended the reſpectable Expilly, biſhop of Quimper; Amourette, biſhop of Lyons; and Goutes, biſhop of Autun, &c.

The diſſentient clergy reproached ſome conſtitutional prieſts with having married, and even with having apoſtatized; but they ſaid not that among the diſſentient there were ſome who had done the ſame. If the number of the latter was ſmaller, it was becauſe the greater part of them were out of France; but what would they have done, if, like the conſtitutional clergy, they had either had the axe ſuſpended over their heads, or the guillotine accompanying all their ſteps?

In England, where the French prieſts were not thus expoſed, there were ſome who had likewiſe married, and even ſome who had apoſtatized.

It is well known, that, amidſt the terrors of atheiſtical perſecution, Gregoire, biſhop of Blois, declared that he braved them, and remained attached to his principles and duties as a Chriſtian and a biſhop. He firmly believed that, in doing ſo, he was pronouncing his ſentence of death, and, for eighteen months, he was in expectation of aſcending the ſcaffold. The ſame courage animated the majority of the conſtitutional biſhops and prieſts; they exerciſed ſecretly, their miniſtry, and conſoled the faithful. As ſoon as the rage for perſecution began to abate, Gregoire, and ſome other biſhops, who had kept up a private correſpondence with the clergy of various dioceſes, for the purpoſe of encouraging them, concerted together in order to reorganize worſhip. In Nivoſe, year III. (January 1795), Gregoire demanded this liberty of worſhip of the National Convention. He was very

ſure of meeting with outrages, and he experienced ſome; but to ſpeak in the tribune was ſpeaking to France and to all Europe, and, in the then ſtate of things, he was almoſt certain of ſtaggering public opinion, which would force the Convention to grant the free exerciſe of religion. Accordingly, ſome time after having refuſed the liberty of worſhip on the demand of Gregoire, that Aſſembly granted it, though with evident reluctance, on an inſulting report of Boiſſy d'Anglas.

The conſtitutional biſhops had already anticipated this moment by their writings and their paſtoral letters, &c. They then compiled two works, entitled "Lettres Encycliques," to which the biſhops and prieſts of the various dioceſes adhered. The object of theſe works, which the Catholics eſteem as monuments of wiſdom, piety, and courage, was to reorganize public worſhip in all the dioceſes, according to the principles of the primitive church. They pronounced a formal excluſion from eccleſiaſtical functions againſt all prevaricating or married prieſts, as well as all thoſe who had the cowardice to deliver up their authority for preaching, and to abdicate their functions. On all ſides, they reanimated religious zeal, cauſed paſtors for the various ſees to be elected by the people, and conſecrated by the metropolitan biſhops.

For a long time paſt the cuſtom of holding councils had fallen into diſuſe. They convoked a national council, notwithſtanding the unfavourableneſs of a ſilent perſecution; and, in ſpite of the penury which afflicted the paſtors, the latter had the courage to devote themſelves in order to concur in it. This Council was opened with great ſolemnity on the 15th

of Auguſt, 1797, the day of the Aſſumption of the Virgin. It ſat for three months.

This Council was publiſhed in the different dioceſes, and its regulations were put into force. During this time, the government, being hoſtile to religion, had not abandoned the project of perſecuting, and, perhaps, of deſtroying it. The voice of the multitude, which clamoured for religion, and held in eſteem the conſtitutional clergy as religious and patriotic, checked, in ſome respects, the hatred of the Directory and its agents. Then the ſpirit of perſecution took a circuitous way to gain its end: this was, to cry down religion and its ministers, to promote Theophilanthropy, and enforce the transferring of Sunday to the *decade*, or tenth day of every republican month.

The biſhops, aſſembled at Paris again cauſed this project to miscarry, and, in their name, GREGOIRE compiled two conſultations againſt the transferring of Sunday to the *decade*. The adheſion of all the clergy was the fruit of his labour; but all this drew on him numerous outrages, the indigence to which he was at that time reduced, and multiplied threats of deportation. The functions which he had diſcharged, and the eſteem of the friends of religion, formed around him a ſhelter of opinion that ſaved him from deportation, to which were condemned ſo many unfortunate conſtitutional prieſts, who were crowded, with the refractory among others, into veſſels lying in the road of Rochefort.

Gregoire remonſtrated againſt this grievance, and obtained an alleviation for his brethren: but it is to be remarked, that in giving an account of their enlargement, the *diſſentient* prieſts took care not to men-

tion to whom they were indebted for having obtained in their behalf this act of humanity and juſtice.

Religion, under the Conſuls, was no longer an object of perſecution but of care. Free toleration of opinion, grounded upon liberty of conſcience, and ſecured by liberty of worſhip, ſeemed to promiſe a jubilee to the haraſſed devotees.

Long had the whole French nation lain under the imputation of being Atheiſts—a God-abandoned people—a horde of irreligious miſcreants. The devout were, therefore, flattered by the regulations of the Conſuls, which promiſed to their hopes a renewal of the former character of the French for religion and piety, and a revival of a regular and "moſt Chriſtian" government. The Canoniſts and the Juriſts, —the pious of all ſpecies;—the arrogant and the humble—the high-minded and the fooliſh—the lofty and the ſimple—the prieſts, and the prieſt-ridden, all inſtantly lifted up their voices in praiſe of the Firſt Conſul; and he was hailed a true Son of the Univerſal Church of Chriſt upon earth.

Already did the true Catholics anticipate the reeſtabliſhment of papacy as the national religion;—"For," ſaid they, "how can a nation ſtand without religion; and, as there is no ſalvation but within the pale of the Catholic church, the Government cannot eſtabliſh any other church but ours?" They defined the rights of the religious and the duties of the ſectaries and the ſceptics.

The perſecution of all religion for ſeveral years, had not ſubdued the jealouſies which the devout, of different perſuaſions entertained of each other; and the conduct of the fanatics proved the folly of giving a power to any one ſect of oppreſſing another.

The Catholics hated the Proteſtants; the Proteſtants feared the Catholics; the Philoſophers deſpiſed both; and neither body was content that the others ſhould be as free as themſelves. Each was anxious to acquire and to preſerve a political aſcendancy in the ſtate:—each of the religious parties began to indulge a hope of its becoming the national church eſtabliſhment, and of receiving its inveſtiture from the new government;—each, therefore, intrigued for the honour of being the fulminator of the decrees of heaven, againſt the good ſenſe, the manly liberality, and the honeſt ſentiments of the nation; each caballed for the paraphernalia which conſtitutes the dignity of the ſpiritual ſtate-mummer; and the bulk of the people, who were to be the objects of the deluſion, aided their deſigns by their childiſh deſire of change.

Reflection on ſuch ſcenes occaſion diſguſt: ſpiritual hypocriſy ſtands expoſed to every beholder, and the politician is tempted to believe, that religion is only of value, to be uſed amongſt the people like the *obi* of the negroes, as a philtre to lethargize the frenzy of the ignorant; or to reduce the endeavours of the poor in ſpirit to paſſive obedience.

The ſelfiſhneſs of religious *factions*, in their ſcramble for power, was well expreſſed by a late learned Lord, remarkable for bluntneſs of addreſs, who has the character of great independence, becauſe no one was ever able to controul him. He was applied to by the Catholics of England, to ſupport a petition, preſented to the houſe of peers for their emancipation. His Lordſhip, who did not regard man at all, and was not believed to fear God much, anſwered the deputation, that waited on him, to this effect:

"Why, Gentlemen, religion has not much of my care, and I do'nt care a ruſh about ſpiritual ſquabbles; becauſe, when ſome people fall out the public are gainers. The wiſdom of our anceſtors has thought proper to ſaddle us with a church eſtabliſhment: now, as we have the folly to think that we cannot do without an eſtabliſhment, and chooſe to continue it; of two evils, I would rather ſupport a Proteſtant eſtabliſhment than a Catholic eſtabliſhment: and, as you, if you were uppermoſt, would keep us down; ſo, now as we are uppermoſt, we will keep you down; —that's all."

A ſimilar policy ſeems to have governed the *pious* Conſul in his preference to the Catholics; for it will be recollected that his conduct to the Pope was of a kind the beſt ſuited to ſhow his contempt of their ſyſtem and opinions, from the firſt moment of his appointment to the army of Italy.

After the ſevere contributions levied upon the Eccleſiaſtical States in 1797, the General got his brother, Joſeph Buonaparté, appointed ambaſſador to the Pope. The propenſity that powerfully governed the French at that period, to republicanize every government into which they could get footing, induced Joſeph to be as inſolent and boiſterous at Rome as Bernadotte was at Vienna; and, interfering with the police of the city, upon an occaſion of tumult that happened there, a French officer of his eſtabliſhment was killed. No ſtronger circumſtance was required to juſtify a new declaration of war with the Pope. The ambaſſador, inſpired by wrath and indignation, fled with his complaints to the Directory, who, as before ſtated, decreed Rome a republic.

Pius the Sixth, who had not the means of purchaſ-

ing kindneſs of thoſe deſpots, was arreſted, with about forty perſons, who compoſed his ſuite, and was ordered to march to the place aſſigned for his impriſonment. In vain did this old man of eighty-two plead, that they had not left him ſufficient reſources to pay for carriage: the French commander obliged him to travel on foot, acroſs the Alps and the Appenines, to the fortreſs of Briançon, a journey of thirty-four days, during which he was frequently ready to ſink with fatigue! If any conſideration could diveſt the conduct of the French Government of the ſevere cenſures that are juſtly due to it for its illiberality and meanneſs in this caſe, perhaps it might be found in the opportunity that was afforded him of carrying on his buſineſs in his exile: for it appears, by a letter from Madrid, dated February 20, 1799, that the Council of Caſtile publiſhed a bull of the Pope, which, in return for pecuniary contributions, permits the Spaniards to eat meat all the year, except during Ember week and on Thurſday and Friday in Paſſion week! his Holineſs alſo empowered the King of Spain to take half the tythes of his kingdom for the uſe of his treaſury. On the 27th of June the old Gentleman was removed to Grenoble, and from thence to Valence and Dijon: He died at the former place, and was interred as a private individual: an inſtance of neglect that offended the devout Catholics very acutely, but which Buonaparté turned to his advantage by iſſuing, on his advancement to the Conſulate, the following

DECRÉE FOR BURYING THE POPE.

"The Conſuls of the Republic conſidering, that, for the laſt ſix months, the body of Pius VI. has been depoſited in the city of Valence, without giving to it the honours of ſepulture:

"That, though this old man, reſpectable for his misfor-

tunes, was, for a moment, the enemy of France, he was only ſo from being ſeduced by the counſels of thoſe who ſurrounded him:

"That it belongs to the dignity of the French nation, and is conformable to the ſenſibility of the national character, to give ſome marks of conſideration to a man who occupied one of the firſt ſtations on earth, decree,

"1ſt.—That the Miniſter of the Interior take care that the body of Pius VI. be interred with the honours due to his rank:

"2d.—That there be erected on the place of his ſepulture a ſimple monument, making known the dignity with which he was inveſted.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

"H. B. MARET, Secretary of State."

During this period the Conclave had met at Venice to name a ſucceſſor to Pius VI. and the city of Rome was ſubjected to a government compounded of civil and military principles. The adminiſtration was entruſted to a proviſionary council, compoſed of Roman nobility ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of the pontifical government: ſuch of the Neapolitan troops as were ſtationed in the territory of Rome were active in ſearching out the men who were termed patriots by way of contempt, and confining them in priſon at St. Angelo, to which they were conducted in the moſt ignominious manner: and here the bloody and revengeful ſpirit of ariſtocracy ſeemed to vie with the democracy of Paris in the extravagance of its cruelty. The only amelioration of their preſent ſituation which could be expected by the Romans was the nomination of a ſucceſſor to the late Pius VI. which, upon the whole, could produce no eſſential alteration, ſince it was no more than a tranſition from a government that they abhorred, to one that they deſpiſed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Overtures for Peace not eagerly accepted by the Allies.—Addreſs of the Archduke Charles.—Letter from Talleyrand to Lord Grenville; from Buonaparté to the King of Great Britain and Ireland.—Anſwer.—Second Letter, and Anſwer.

BUONAPARTE's decided declaration in favour of peace had attached the people to the Conſular Government; every principle of policy, therefore, called upon him to make an early attempt to negotiate, whatever might be his private inclination.

Much manœuvreing, it has already been ſeen, had been practiſed on either ſide during the war to caſt the blame of its continuance on its antagoniſt; but the Allies did not ſeem diſpoſed to incur the charge of a ſimilar duplicity upon this occaſion. The Archduke, in anticipation of ſome ſort of overture from the enemy, took occaſion, as early as the 4th of December, to communicate his ſentiments to the anterior circles of the Empire from his head-quarters at Donaueſchingen. He ſaid,

"It is from a ſentiment of moſt urgent neceſſity that I feel myſelf compelled to ſpeak to you on a ſubject and diſpoſitions, from which may reſult very great injury to the common cauſe of the Germanic Empire. I ſee with regret that upon the late events in France, by which the ſupreme power has paſſed into other hands, has been founded, almoſt everywhere, the hope, that has often proved deceitful, of an approaching pacification; and that, in the confidence of this premature ſuppoſition, has been aſſumed the power of putting off the contingents in activity, and the accompliſhment of other conſtitutional obligations. A heart truly German

and patriotic and enlightened by ſuch ſad experience, cannot abſolutely commit ſuch imprudence; ſuch conduct would deprive us of the only means of obtaining a ſteady peace, upon terms juſt and proper. We ought not intirely to forget the maxim, that, if we wiſh for peace, we ſhould prepare vigorouſly for war. Should the enemy continue his imperious tone, and be diſpoſed to preſcribe once more a peace that would infallibly lead us to ſhame and ſlavery, he will be the more inclined to liſten to reaſon if we aſſume a bold attitude. Too often has the hope, indulged with ſo much precipitation with reſpect to France, proved deceitful, to ſuffer theſe new events to lull the ſtate into falſe ſecurity. It has been ſeen uniformly, till the preſent hour, that every new faction has talked a great deal about peace; not with a view to conclude one upon equitable terms, but to gain popularity; that they have often the word Peace in their mouths, and are continually commencing new wars; or, that by the word Peace they have meant nothing but the extermination of their enemies. The events that took place in France on the 9th of November, conſidered in a near point of view, are not of a nature to afford us all at once a full confidence.

"Some of thoſe who have poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſupreme power are the ſame men who ſo often, by their principles, and the whole courſe of their public lives, have ſworn eternal hatred to all ſtates not conſtituted like their own; who have overturned ſome and perfidiouſly ſubjugated others in full peace. The ſpirit which manifeſts itſelf, even in the writings of France, is not ſo pacific: it is there frequently declared, that this new revolution has no other object than to raiſe the Republic ſtill higher. The late Directory is blamed there, not for beginning the war, but for not having carried it on ſucceſsfully, and for having loſt their old conqueſts, inſtead of making new ones. In all their proclamations they begin by ſpeaking of victories, and they talk of peace afterwards; a clear indication that circumſtances do not yet appear favourable for the latter. The Miniſter of War openly announces, that he is em-

ployed in reinforcing the army and providing it with every thing: he adds, that he will take part of the dangers himself, and that he is preparing new triumphs for the army. There has not yet been any relaxation on the part of France in the preparations for war, to justify the Germans to relax their's: but, on the contrary, a new corps is to be raised in the four new united departments. Yet, even though we might have no grounds to distrust the views and objects of the new rulers of France; is the new constitution sufficiently confirmed to inspire a full assurance that it will not be overturned, like the rest?

"Finally, the question does not hear of such peace, as every convention or armistice might be called; the question is safety, the conditions for which we essentially contend—conditions which honour, dignity, liberty, the integrity of the German Empire, and the inviolability of our dearest treaties demand. I invoke you to weigh maturely these considerations with the patriotic sentiments with which you are inspired, and then you will certainly agree with me, that prudence forbids you to be seduced into inactivity by ill-founded reports of peace. You will feel with me the necessity of hastening the measures of defence, of redoubling our efforts, of augmenting our forces, and of accomplishing in the most serious manner the resolutions of the Diet, for opposing an energetic mass to the new forces of the enemy. It is only by an imposing military force that we shall be able to prevent the enemy from making new devastating attacks, to abridge or terminate the evils of war, to ameliorate the conditions of pacification, or, finally, to accelerate the peace, that may recompense the multiplied sacrifices by which we have long fought to obtain it.

"THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES."

Buonaparté did not seem to entertain any doubt of the readiness of the Combined Powers to enter upon an immediate negotiation; and, on the 26th of December, he communicated his wish to the courts

of Vienna and St. James's. The Emperor was not, however, so eager; and it was in vain that the Consul interposed the mediation of the King of Prussia at the same time that Moreau was employed to importune the Archduke Charles, and the Prince of Colleredo was occupied in remonstrating with the Imperial cabinet. Great Britain was equally interested in the event, and Austria would not act without knowing the sentiments of her ally. Much diversity of opinion has prevailed as to the propriety of conduct adopted upon that occasion by the Allies; and if they are to be judged upon the principle of policy, which can only determine the justice or injustice of an action by its result, there can be no doubt but they were too fastidious in their objections to the enemy's proposal: but as they had not the same advantage that posterity will have, of determining by the result, it will be more candid to judge them by the appearance of things at the time, and to hear the grounds upon which their judgments were guided, as reasoned by themselves.

The issue seemed, by common consent, to be placed upon the decision of the British cabinet; and the whole subject may be fully understood by the discussion it underwent in the English parliament, the substance of which is contained in the speeches of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, upon the correspondence being laid before parliament, as the ground of an address to the King.

On the 31st of December a French messenger arrived at Dover, bearing a Letter to the King, inclosed in one to the Secretary of State, Lord Grenville, as follows:

"My Lord,

"I dispatch, by order of General Buonaparté, First

Conſul of the French Republic, a meſſenger to London: he is the bearer of a letter from the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, to his Majeſty the King of England. I requeſt you to give the neceſſary orders that he may be enabled to deliver it directly into your own hands. This ſtep, in itſelf, announces the importance of its object.

"Accept, my Lord, the aſſurance of my higheſt conſideration.

(Signed) "CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

"Paris, 5th Nivoſe, 8th Year of the French Republic, (Dec. 25, 1799.)

"FRENCH REPUBLIC, *Sovereignty of the People.*

"LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

"BONAPARTE, *Firſt Conſul of the Republic, to his Majeſty the King of* GREAT BRITAIN *and of* IRELAND.

"Paris, the 5th Nivoſe, 8th Year of the Republic.

"Called by the wiſhes of the French nation to occupy the Firſt Magiſtracy of the Republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your Majeſty.

"The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, muſt it be eternal? are there no means of coming to an underſtanding?

"How can the two moſt enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and ſtrong beyond what their ſafety and independence require, ſacrifice to ideas of vain greatneſs the benefits of commerce, internal proſperity, and the happineſs of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the firſt neceſſity, as well as of the firſt glory?

"Theſe ſentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majeſty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the ſole view of rendering it happy.

"Your Majeſty will only ſee in this overture my ſincere deſire to contribute efficaciouſly, for the ſecond time, to a general pacification, by a ſtep, ſpeedy, entirely of confidence, and diſengaged from thoſe forms which, neceſſary perhaps to diſguiſe the dependence of weak States, prove

only in thoſe which are ſtrong the mutual deſire of deceiving each other.

"France and England, by the abuſe of their ſtrength, may ſtill, for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhauſted. But I will venture to ſay it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

"Of your Majeſty,

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

ANSWER.

"SIR, Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 4, 1800.

"I have received, and laid before the King, the two letters which you have tranſmitted to me, and his Majeſty, ſeeing no reaſon to depart from thoſe forms which have long been eſtabliſhed in Europe for tranſacting buſineſs with foreign ſtates, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official Anſwer, which I ſend you herewith incloſed. I have the honour to be, with high conſideration, Sir, Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) "GRENVILLE.

"To the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, &c. at Paris."

NOTE.

"The King has given frequent proofs of his ſincere deſire for the re-eſtabliſhment of ſecure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been engaged in any conteſt for a vain and falſe glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining againſt all aggreſſion the rights and happineſs of his ſubjects.

"For theſe he has contended againſt an unprovoked attack: and for the ſame objects he is ſtill obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this neceſſity could be removed by entering, at the preſent moment, into negociation with thoſe whom a freſh revolution has ſo recently placed in the exerciſe of power in France. Since no real advantage can ariſe from ſuch negociation to the great and deſirable

object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed.

"The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, (his Majesties ancient friends and allies) have, successively, been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His Majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms.

"Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone; they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote both in situation and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was, perhaps, unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.

"While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shewn that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.

"For the ſecurity, therefore, of theſe eſſential objects his Majeſty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general profeſſions of pacific diſpoſitions. Such profeſſions have been repeatedly held out by all thoſe who have ſucceſſively directed the reſources of France to the deſtruction of Europe; and whom the preſent rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.

"Greatly, indeed, will his Majeſty rejoice whenever it ſhall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and thoſe of his allies, have been ſo long expoſed, has really ceaſed; whenever he ſhall be ſatisfied that the neceſſity of reſiſtance is at an end: that, after the experience of ſo many years of crimes and miſeries, better principles have, ultimately, prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the reſtleſs ſchemes of deſtruction which have endangered the very exiſtence of civil ſociety, have, at length, been finally relinquiſhed:—but the conviction of ſuch a change, however agreeable to his Majeſty's wiſhes, can reſult only from experience, and from the evidence of facts.

"The beſt and moſt natural pledge of its reality and permanence, would be the reſtoration of that line of princes which for ſo many centuries maintained the French nation in proſperity at home and in conſideration and reſpect abroad:—ſuch an event would at once have removed, and will, at any time, remove, all obſtacles in the way of negociation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmoleſted enjoyment of [illegible] ancient territory, and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that ſecurity which they are now compelled to ſeek by other means.

"But, deſirable as ſuch an event muſt be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode excluſively that his Majeſty limits the poſſibility of ſecure and ſolid pacification. His Majeſty makes no claim to preſcribe to France

what ſhall be the form of her government, or in whoſe hands ſhe ſhall veſt the authority neceſſary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

"His Majeſty looks only to the ſecurity of his own dominions and thoſe of his Allies, and to the general ſafety of Europe. Whenever he ſhall judge that ſuch ſecurity can in any manner be attained, as reſulting either from the internal ſituation of that country, from whoſe internal ſituation the danger has ariſen, or from ſuch other circumſtances, of whatever nature, as may produce the ſame end, his Majeſty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his Allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

"Unhappily, no ſuch ſecurity hitherto exiſts; no ſufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reaſonable ground by which to judge of its ſtability. In this ſituation it can, for the preſent, only remain for his Majeſty to purſue, in conjunction with other powers, thoſe exertions of juſt and defenſive war, which his regard to the happineſs of his ſubjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the neceſſity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than ſuch as may beſt contribute to the ſecure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their conſtitution, and their independence. GRENVILLE.

"Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 4, 1800.

"To the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, &c. at Paris."

"*Second Letter from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs at* PARIS *to* LORD GRENVILLE.

"Paris, 24 Nivoſe, 8th Year, (Jan. 14, 1800.)

"MY LORD,

"I loſt no time in laying before the Firſt Conſul of the Republic the official Note, under date of the 14th Nivoſe, which you tranſmitted to me; and I am charged to forward the anſwer, equally official, which you will find annexed.

"Receive, my lord, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) "CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.
"Minister for Foreign Affairs at London."

NOTE.

"The Official Note, under date the 14th Nivose, the 8th Year, addressed by the minister of his Britannic Majesty, having been laid before the First Consul of the French Republic, he observed with surprise, that it rested upon an opinion, which is not exact, respecting the origin and consequences of the present war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace and her disinclination to conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments: and it is not to be doubted that, occupied at that time entirely with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

"But from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real, long time before it was public; internal resistance was excited; its opponents were favourably received; their extravagant declamations were supported; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents; and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her.—Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her safety, long time before the war was declared.

"Thus it is to the projects of subjection, dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example, with re-

ſpect to ſo powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the moſt fatal conſequences.

" Aſſailed on all ſides, the Republic could not but extend univerſally the efforts of her defence, and it is only for the maintenance of her own independence that ſhe has made uſe of thoſe means which ſhe poſſeſſed, in her own ſtrength, and the courage of her citizens. As long as ſhe ſaw that her enemies obſtinately refuſed to recogniſe her rights, ſhe counted only upon the energy of her reſiſtance; but as ſoon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invaſion, ſhe ſought for means of conciliation, and manifeſted pacific intentions; and if theſe have not been efficacious; if, in the midſt of the critical circumſtances of her internal ſituation, which the revolution and the war have ſucceſſively brought on, the former depoſitaries of the executive authority in France have not always ſhewn as much moderation as the nation itſelf has ſhewn courage, it muſt above all be imputed to the fatal and perſevering animoſity with which the reſources of England have been laviſhed to accompliſh the ruin of France.

" But if the wiſhes of his Britannic Majeſty, in (conformity with his aſſurances) are, in uniſon with thoſe of the French Republic for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, why, inſtead of attempting the apology of the war, ſhould not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? And what obſtacle can prevent a mutual underſtanding, of which the utility is reciprocal and is felt, eſpecially when the Firſt Conſul of the Republic has perſonally given ſo many proofs of his eagerneſs to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his diſpoſition to maintain the rigid obſervance of all treaties concluded?

" The Firſt Conſul of the Republic could not doubt that his Britannic Majeſty recognized the right of nations to chooſe the form of their government, ſince it is from the exerciſe of this right that he holds his crown; but he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which reſts the exiſtence of political ſocie

ties; the minister of his Majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and to his Majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that Republican government, of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recal to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it.

"If at periods, not far distant, when the constitutional system of the Republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic Majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negociation and pacific conferences; how is it possible that he should not be eager to renew negociations to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress. On every side the voice of nations and of humanity implores the conclusion of a war, marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to the course of these calamities; or in order that their terrible consequences may be reproached to those only who shall have provoked them, that the First Consul of the French Republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities, by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who should repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications, and who shall apply themselves, without delay, to effect the re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the French Republic and England.

"The First Consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose.

(Signed) "CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

"Paris, the 24th Nivose, (14th Jan. 1800,)
8th Year of the French Republic."

ANSWER.

"*From* LORD GRENVILLE *to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at* PARIS.

"SIR, Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800.

"I have the honour to inclose to you the answer which his Majesty has directed me to return to the official Note which you transmitted to me. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "GRENVILLE.

"To the Minister for Foreign Affairs, &c. at Paris."

NOTE.

"The official Note transmitted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, and received by the undersigned on the 18th instant, has been laid before the King.

"His Majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes, in that Note, that th unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present Ruler under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His Majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploced, and, in so far as they respect his Majesty's conduct, not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they relate and also by the express testimony (given at the time) of the government of France itself.

"With respect to the object of the Note, his Majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given.

"He has explained, without reserve, the obstacles which, in his judgment, preclude, at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negociation. All the inducements to treat, which are relied upon in the French official note; the personal dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace and for the future observance of treaties; the power of ensuring the effect of those dispositions, supposing them to exist; and the solidity of the system newly established,

after ſo rapid a ſucceſſion of revolutions; all theſe are points which can be known only from that teſt to which his Majeſty has already referred them—the reſult of experience and the evidence of facts.

"With that ſincerity and plainneſs which his anxiety for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace indiſpenſably required, his Majeſty has pointed out to France the ſureſt and ſpeedieſt means for the attainment of that great object. But he has declared in terms equally explicit, and with the ſame ſincerity, that he entertains no deſire to preſcribe to a foreign nation the form of its government; that he looks only to the ſecurity of his own dominions and of Europe; and that whenever that eſſential object can in his judgment be, in any manner whatever, ſufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his Allies the means of immediate and joint negociation for the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity.

"To theſe declarations his Majeſty ſteadily adheres, and it is only on the grounds thus ſtated, that his regard to the ſafety of his ſubjects will ſuffer him to renounce that ſyſtem of vigorous defence, to which, under the favour of Providence, his kingdoms owe the ſecurity of thoſe bleſſings which they now enjoy.

(Signed) "GRENVILLE.

"Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 20, 1800."

The manner of introducing this diſcuſſion has formed a new epoch in the hiſtory of diplomacy; and the only marked and *clearly delineated* feature of it is, the egotiſm and impatience of the Firſt Conſul, who had ſcarcely ſlept upon his uſurpation, before he had reſolved to trample upon all the forms that unite civilized ſociety together, and to tempt one of the greateſt ſovereigns of Europe to conſpire with him in the deſpotic triumph. The apparent *navieté* of the proceeding, ſtripped of colateral conſideration, was

juſt calculated to inſpire an unwary people with confidence in the good faith and honour of the Conſul: but thoſe who had read his communications with the Turks, and his Letters to Kleber, muſt have been credulous indeed, to have regarded it in any other light than as a meaſure of refined policy, reſorted to for his own convenience.

CHAPTER IX.

Parliamentary Diſcuſſions on the continuance of the War.—The Archduke Charles ſuperſeded.—Severe Reflections of the French Government againſt the Engliſh for rejecting the Overtures of Peace.

A MESSAGE from the King accompanied the papers relative to the negociation, which were preſented to Parliament on the 22d of January.

In the Houſe of Lords, on Tueſday, January 28, Lord Grenville, on moving an addreſs, in an eloquent ſpeech, of three hours, ſaid, That he found it neceſſary to take a review of the conduct of our enemies, to ſhew how far any reliance could be placed on their profeſſions. His Lordſhip proceeded to obſerve, that M. Talleyrand had acted in conjunction with M. Chauvelin, and was named in the commiſſion ſent by the late French monarch, when he expreſſed his thanks to this country, which he looked upon as his guardian angel, for having declined any part in the convention of Pilnitz; and yet Talleyrand attempts to defend now what he then knew to be falſe! His Lordſhip thought the propoſed ſuſpenſion of arms to be even worſe than a treaty; ſuch a meaſure might, indeed, be of advantage to France in many points of view, but could be of no benefit to Britain. His Lordſhip's arguments on this ſubject were ſo obvious as not to need recapitulation. He condemned very ſeverely their profeſſions of peace while they continued at war with every power in Europe, except Sweden and Denmark. Spain he conſidered to be in perfect ſubjection to the Gallic yoke, and the tyrannical ſubjection of Holland was too well known.

His Lordſhip thought that whenever the government of France ſhould abandon its preſent principles, and become able to preſerve the relations of peace and amity, it might ſafely be treated with. He condemned the ideas which had been entertained out of doors on the ſubject of negociation, and he hoped their Lordſhips would fully unite in an humble addreſs to his Majeſty on the occaſion.

The proofs that the French Conſul had given of his eagerneſs for peace required ſome degree of inveſtigation, not only into their arguments but into the character of the man, whom his Lordſhip placed in a very opprobrious view: a man, who, he ſaid, had began his oppoſition at the mouth of a cannon and preſerved it at the point of a bayonet. To Buonaparté his Lordſhip attributed the ill ſucceſs of all the treaties hitherto commenced, and to whom was attributable all the misfortunes that at preſent overwhelmed Europe: by treaties and ſuſpenſions of arms they had been uniformly deceived, and could have no poſſible confidence in the profeſſions of an enemy. He even followed Buonaparté into Egypt to detect his duplicity, and ſpoke of the intercepted correſpondence, which explained, as his Lordſhip thought, the intentions of the French General. He reprobated Buonaparté as a traitor and an atheiſt; and aſſerted, that his deſigns were, ultimately, to bring about the deſtruction of Britiſh commerce. The Addreſs was read.

The Duke of Bedford argued calmly againſt the preſent meaſures, and moved an amendment.

Lord Romney, a friend of the miniſtry, ſaid, That, on the preſent occaſion, he roſe with peculiar difficulty and embarraſſment. He could not but give his

approbation to the energy of the executive government and to the prudence of thoſe who guided his Majeſty's councils. He was convinced of the ſincerity of the wiſh expreſſed by our Sovereign and his miniſters for peace; he could not think, however, that the latter, in the preſent inſtance, had taken the moſt advantageous ground. The plauſible language of Buonaparté was ſuch as may, poſſibly, anſwer his wiſh, by creating a diviſion of ſentiment among the people of this country. He had no opinion of Buonaparté, who, at the time of the treaty of Campo Formio, had proclaimed that England ſhould not exiſt! but his language was now changed, and where was the man who could aſſert that his ſentiments had not undergone a ſimilar alteration? In his opinion, therefore, our miniſters ſhould have held the ſame language as they did previouſly to the negociations at Liſle, and have ſaid, that they were, at all times, ready to treat "for ourſelves and for our allies." It was of no conſequence to the people of France whether they fought for a Bourbon or a Buonaparté, in either caſe, they could never ſubmit to be treated as a conquered nation. He could not agree in approving wholly the conduct which miniſters had purſued on the preſent occaſion; but as he had ſtill greater objections to the amendment offered by the noble Duke, he ſhould decline to vote on the preſent queſtion.

Lord Holland, the Earl of Caernarvon, Lord Boringdon, the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Carliſle, and Lord Auckland, delivered their ſentiments, when the addreſs was carried by a great majority.

The Meſſage was diſcuſſed in the Houſe of Commons, on Monday, February 3. The ſpeeches of Mr. Secretary Dundas, (Lord Melville) and Meſſrs.

Whitbread, Canning, and Erſkine, were diſtinguiſhed for argument and information; but, thoſe of the two great leaders of Adminiſtration and Oppoſition, give a correct and ample ſtatement of the arguments urged for and againſt the commencement of negociation.

Mr. Pitt commenced his ſpeech, by obſerving, that the queſtion before the Houſe appeared to him to be, whether the inevitable deſtinies of the world were ſuch as obviated the poſſibility of their being controuled by any human exertions; and whether, impreſſed with that idea, the people and government of this country were patiently to reſign themſelves to a paſſive endurance of a ſyſtem founded on principles, the inquiry of which was admitted by Mr. Erſkine, who had laſt addreſſed the Houſe, and he truſted by every one elſe who heard him. He was extremely ſorry to have heard that Honourable Gentleman infer, that let the French revolution, in its origin and continuance have been productive of every poſſible evil; that ſuppoſing it the moſt dreadful viſitation with which heaven had ever afflicted mankind, ſtill that it was not juſtifiable in this country to oppoſe itſelf as a barrier to its further progreſs. Contemplating the ſubject in this view, he would enter ſomewhat in detail, though he wiſhed to detain the Houſe as ſhort a time as poſſible. It was, he conceived, impoſſible to ſeparate the queſtion now before the Houſe from the antecedent cauſes of the French revolution; yet, the Honourable Gentleman had altogether omitted referring in the leaſt reſpect to thoſe cauſes: he had merely recapitulated the arguments contained in the Pamphlet he had written, which had been repeatedly advanced on

former occaſions by him, and others of the oppoſition ſpeakers and publiſhers within and without doors. It was neceſſary to conſider, whether in negociating with the enemy, we had a fair proſpect of an adequate ſecurity for the obſervance of the terms of the negociation. This queſtion, however, could not be decided without adverting to the original conduct of the French; and he maintained, that before any man could concur in opinion with the Honorable Gentleman, it muſt have been ſafe in this country to have acceded to the overtures of the French: he muſt have been convinced that the ſyſtem of the French revolution did not exhibit thoſe circumſtances of danger ariſing out of the ſituation of France, which rendered it inadequate to impart ſecurity to the negociations it might enter on; or that the recent change which had taken place had given that ſecurity and confidence to the government which before were wanting; or, 3dly, he muſt have believed that the danger had never exiſted, or had even now ceaſed; yet, from the view of its preſent ſtate and future proſpects, we were bound to accept an inadequate ſecurity rather than run the further riſk of a prolongation of the conteſt in which we were engaged. When he heard the Honorable Gentleman again giving the Houſe thoſe arguments he had ſo often urged, and advancing upon the authority of his own writings, that the origin of the war was to be imputed to the diſmiſſal of M. Chauvelin, he was tempted to make a ſhort reply: there was a degree of inaccuracy as to dates in his ſtatement, and that of Talleyrand, which he had obſerved generally characterized men of their great genius. Speaking of the firſt profeſſions of the French Re-

public, it had been ſtated, that they had, from the beginning, been actuated by a love of peace, and a reſpect for other nations: and that if they had appeared to have departed from that ſyſtem, they would not have done ſo without the provocation of other nations. The outrages ſuppoſed to have been offered to France were attributed to the example ſet by England in diſmiſſing M. Chauvelin, and that diſmiſſal was alluded to as having made future diſcuſſion between the two countries impoſſible: the fact was, all the cauſes which would have juſtified a declaration of war on the part of this country had been previouſly ſubmitted to diſcuſſion; and France had ſtated, if we were not ſatisfied as to the points propoſed by her as her ultimatum, ſhe would conſider our rejection as a declaration of war. While matters were in this ſituation, there followed that atrocious deed which he could not but conſider as one of the blackeſt and moſt atrocious murders ever committed. Thoſe who aſſumed the government required we ſhould acknowledge the ambaſſador of the deceaſed King as the diplomatic agent of the French Republic—it was returned for anſwer, that, as he had been accredited the repreſentative of a power unlawfully murdered, this country could not continue him in his former capacity; the French, by their ſacrilegious murder of Louis XVI. had put a period to the functions of M. Chauvelin, his miniſter; he no longer appeared in the ſame capacity; miniſters had been armed with the extraordinary powers of the Alien Act, which enabled them to drive all ſuſpected perſons from the kingdom; would it have been fit or conſiſtent to have ſuffered M. Chauvelin to have remained after the act of his

nation had terminated his miſſion? the next point was, as to the cauſe of the rejection of the ultimatum of the French government. It was their acting hoſtilely againſt our Ally, in conſequence of the aſſumption of a right ſuperſeding the law of nations—the right of opening the Scheld. In either a military or maritime point of view, the opening of that river was important: but it became ſtill more ſo, becauſe, on the ſame principle, they could determine that the Rhine and the Alps were the natural boundaries of France. They were alſo marching, by rapid ſtrides, into Holland, and had given orders to purſue the Auſtrian generals into neutral countries; they had ſhewn their contempt of aggrandiſement, by annexing Belgium to their dominions, and their diſpoſition for peace, by wreſting Savoy from the King of Sardinia. In addition to theſe arbitrary acts, they paſſed the decree of the 19th November, promiſing French protection to all who wiſhed for revolutionary freedom, and ſealed their promiſe by the depoſition and murder of their ſovereign. Encouraged by the long forbearance of the government of this country, and the inſolence of thoſe diſaffected ſubjects who had been miſled by the propagation of their principles, they had already anticipated their triumph; and, reeking with the blood of their ſovereign, looked forward, with exultation, to the day on which the people of England ſhould co-operate with their National Convention. Their explanation of this decree was, that it never was intended to be carried into effect, unleſs where a whole nation was unanimous. After this came the decree of the 15th of December; a decree which he could not but ſuppoſe

the Honorable Gentleman had totally forgot, for it was nothing more or leſs than a declaration of war againſt all regular and civilized governments. It ſtated, that wherever the armies of the French came, every endeavour ſhould be uſed to form the people according to the principles of the French Republic. In order to carry this decree into effect, they had waged war with all the nations of Europe, ſave two; and thoſe two had, perhaps, kept aloof from the conteſt, in conſequence of their averſion to carrying on a defenſive war. The principles of that decree had been applied to every one of thoſe nations with whom the French Republic had come in contact. It had been propoſed that this decree ſhould be confined to thoſe nations with whom France was actually at war, but that propoſal, by a great majority, had been rejected.

The new deſtroyers of thrones had foreſeen, with accuracy, the extent to which they could realize their projects, and had been upon the look-out how to make them the current buſineſs of the day, and the ſtanding orders of the ſtaff of the army. The decree he alluded to contained a ſchedule, as accurately and methodically arranged as any ſchedule relative to the common routine of buſineſs in this country. There was encloſed to every general a blank, to be filled up with the name of the nation requiring the aid of the Republic: thus anticipating the judgment of all nations, and pre-determining that they ſhould be diſſatisfied with their reſpective governments. By the decree of the 15th of December, thoſe who refuſed to ſuffer France to execute this right of aſſimilation, were to be treated as conquered enemies. It was not till after all theſe ag-

greſſions, that M. Chauvelin was ordered to depart; but ſtill the Engliſh government, though we are almoſt aſhamed to own it, left open the door of negociation till war was declared not by England, but France. The Houſe had been told that this country had ſupported the combination of other countries againſt France; the evidence he had to diſprove this was unanſwerable.—1ſt, There were the documents.—2ndly, The confeſſions of the Briſſotines and Robeſpierres, criminating each other, and both acquitting England;—3dly, It had been ſtated, in a manner amounting to proof, that the treaties of Pavia and Pilnitz were ſpurious or miſrepreſented. As to the treaty of Pavia it was an utter forgery, and the treaty of Pilnitz was ſuſpended by the releaſe of the King of France from his durance, and his ſubſequent acceptation of a conſtitution, which, by a natural progreſſion, had conducted him to the ſcaffold. With regard to the hoſtilities having been determined on by France, previous to M. Chauvelin's having been diſmiſſed from this country, he inferred the fact from the publications of Dumourier, Briſſot, and the American miniſter, Genet. If England had erred, it had been from too fond an adherence to a ſyſtem diametrically oppoſite to that which France had purſued; and he would venture to ſtate, that, prior to the diſmiſſion of Chauvelin, no provocation had been given at all by this government, though it would have been amply juſtified by the decrees of the French Convention. England would have been juſtified in declaring war when ſhe ſaw France, not only directing hoſtile meaſures againſt her immediate intereſts, but involving the Emperor, her Ally. Had the Engliſh government ſought to

make the war unavoidable? on the contrary, he had documents to prove its conduct had been altogether neutral; but with this condition, that France was not to attack it through the medium of its Allies. It was not till after the battle of Jemappe, when our Allies had been attacked, and the decree of Fraternity had paſſed, that war was entered into by this country. He next referred to the diſpatch of the 29th December, 1792, from Lord Grenville to our miniſter at Ruſſia, deſiring, on the part of Ruſſia, to have an explanation on the ſubject of the war with France; the two leading points wiſhed to be communicated were,—Firſt, The plan of conduct previous to the commencement of hoſtilities; and whether it would not be poſſible to avert the threatened calamities?—Secondly, Whether, if that could not be effected, the forces of the Allied Powers were ſufficient to carry on the war with hopes of ſucceſs? The project of this country intended to avert the war with France, was compriſed in the following terms of peace; namely, the withdrawing of their armies, reſtoring the conqueſts they had made, we giving an unequivocal proof of our intention not to foment any troubles in France, or to interfere in their political affairs, but to preſerve the relations of peace and amity. With regard to the ſecond point, it was not neceſſary to enlarge upon it. If any one ſhould aſk, whether there was any excitement in the declaration of the Britiſh government on the ſubject, with reference to hoſtilities, he would anſwer, that the only circumſtance to be alledged againſt their conduct was, that it had been too ſlow in adopting hoſtile meaſures; and that it had vainly thought forbearance would have been effectual: he would

ſay no more as to the origin of the war. He contended that the ſyſtem of French republicaniſm would never be deſtroyed until the principles on which it was founded were extinguiſhed, or its ſtrength exhauſted. He ſaid he might enter into a variety of other obſervations upon this part of the ſubject; but he would content himſelf with obſerving, that the French revolution had produced one continued ſcene of aggreſſion toward every nation in Europe: it was impoſſible to take up a map, and lay your hands on any one country in which France had not committed ſome devaſtation, infringed ſome treaty, or violated ſome law of nations; the firſt in the liſt was the attack of the French on the papal rights, by ſeizing upon Avignon, exerciſing every ſpecies of cruelty, and compelling it, at the point of the bayonet, to implore a mere nominal freedom; the next depredation was the ſeizure of Porentrui, belonging to the Biſhop of Baſle; to theſe were to be added the ſeizure of Savoy, which had been incorporated with the Republic, and the attack upon the dominions of Auſtria, Ruſſia, and Germany. He proceeded to ſtate the relative ſituation of France and the Allied Powers, at the time of the commencement of hoſtilities, and referred the motive for the arbitrary ſeizures of the French, not to the miſconduct of the powers whoſe territories they invaded, but to the ingenious diſcovery that the Rhine and the Alps were the natural boundaries of France. He then adverted to the unwarrantable attack of the French upon the various ſtates of Italy, the dominions of the King of Sardinia, the converſion of Genoa and Tuſcany into republics, the revolu-

tionizing Venice, and the subsequent transfer of it to the dominions of Austria. He censured the conduct of Austria in accepting an indemnification by the cession of Venice; but affirmed, however unjust that indemnification might have been, yet, if there was anything for which Venice would thank the French, it would be for transferring it to the despotism of Vienna, instead of retaining it in their fraternal embraces. He alluded to the former negociations for peace, contending that they did not manifest the least spirit, on the part of this country, for dismembering France. England was Mistress of the Seas, had collected the wealth of the world, had annihilated the commerce of France, and had doubled her own: yet, pre-eminent as was her situation, she aimed not at the partition of the ancient territory of France, but offered to return a part of those conquests, every one of which she had certainly a right to retain. The negociations were broken off by France new-moulding her code of laws, and pretending that what she had once annexed to her territory could never afterward be surrendered. Was it a proof France was pursued with unrelenting hostility, when she was not desired to give up all she had obtained, and would not wish to retain all we had conquered? attended with similar aggravations had been the conduct of the French with regard to Modena, Naples, &c. in all of which acts of oppression, the name of Buonaparté appeared as the principal personage. He referred to the last overtures for peace made by this country, by which we freely offered all we had, requiring only from France a part of that we had conquered from Holland. But it was in vain these terms were offered; having

ſpurned the offers of England, and being relieved from the war with Auſtria, ſhe attacked Switzerland, where that dreadful ſcene of carnage and horror took place, which fully unmaſked the conduct of the French to thoſe who were previouſly blind to their deformity. Military laws were applied to ſubject a people proverbial for the innocence of their lives, and the inhabitants of a ſpot which had been conſidered an aſylum for peaceful freedom.

If any one wiſhed to contemplate the picture of French cruelty, he would aſk, whether it was not the natural result of the French revolution, and of thoſe principles which had made as much miſery in France as in the reſt of the world? He alluded to the conduct of France toward America, which, he ſaid, if anything had been wanting, had completely changed the minds of thoſe who had before entertained the leaſt doubt; their conduct had been ſordid in the higheſt degree, and formed a new inſtance of that ſpirit of revolution, which was not confined to Europe alone. The only ſubject that remained to ſpeak upon was, the expedition to Egypt; but firſt, he would advert to the iſland of Malta, merely to ſhew there was no place too ſmall to elude the vigilance of the all-ſearching eye of the French revolution. The attack on Egypt, he obſerved, was made in the name of the French king, who had been murdered, and was pretended to be ſanctioned by the Grand Seignor, whoſe dominions were invaded; that the aſſent of the Grand Seignor was with-held by the machinations of Ruſſia; that they had abjured Chriſtianity in favour of the Muſſulman faith; and that their object was to attack the Engliſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies. At the very

moment negociations for peace were carrying on they were accompanied by a revolutionary attack, according to the ſyſtem of the French, by ſending meſſengers of peace and freedom to the Eaſt, who were to recommend deſtruction to all ſovereigns, except their good ally, citizen Tippoo: they have been fitly rewarded for their perfidy by having now no other ſovereign on the throne of France than a rank citizen Tippoo. The nature of the French ſyſtem was nothing but an inſatiable love of aggrandizement: that was its governing principle; it was the ſoul that animated it at its birth, and certainly would not deſert it till its extinction; it had been invariably the ſame at every ſtage of the revolution; it equally belonged to Briſſot, Robeſpierre, Reubell, and Barras; but it belonged more than all to Buonaparté, in whom were united all their powers and all their crimes. He deſcribed France, in her preſent ſituation, as bleeding at every pore, and by her miſeries aſking pardon of God and man for her enormities. With no means of enjoyment herſelf, yet ſhe poſſeſſed gigantic powers to annoy and haraſs her neighbours: the French Republic marches forth the terror and diſmay of the world, and made every nation the theatre of her crimes: but he truſted, while the people of this country could wield a ſword, or procure the ſinews of war, they would not ceaſe to oppoſe them. He obſerved, that hiſtory would be inadequate to record ſuch a black catalogue of crimes as characterized France at this time. He aſked, whether it was poſſible the recent change of government could have furniſhed any ſecurity againſt the common danger: not one of the republics which had been raiſed by France had continued long enough to deſerve the character of ſta-

bility. Againſt this revolutionary ſyſtem what was the ſecurity offered? He could not better ſum it up than in the words of the reporter (Boulay de la Meurthe) when the new conſtitution was recommended to the French nation at the point of the bayonet [he here read the extracts from the report.] Such had been the evidence given by Buonaparté himſelf againſt the competency of his predeceſſors, in whoſe ſervice he had won thoſe victories which had procured him, too eaſily, the fame of unrivalled fortune. Thank heaven! that fame was now eclipſed, by the exploits of a general ſuperior to him in fortune as in talents, and the ſtar of Buonaparté "dims its ineffectual light" before the riſing ſplendour of Suwarrow. Eclipſed in his military reputation, he has now commenced ſtateſman and legiſlator, and has, with ſudden violence and lucky temerity, effected that change in the government of France, on the merits of which, and of his own character, he grounds the poſſibility of negociation.

But let us ſee what this change has been; let us pauſe, and examine what is its peculiar character, what is its probable ſtability, what are its promiſed fruits. There has been a change indeed, but a change in the exterior forms rather than in reality and principle. The new government has erected itſelf on the ſame contempt of public opinion as the former governments: like the former, it is a military deſpotiſm, and differs chiefly in being more naked and undiſguiſed; its enſign of power is the ſword, and not the ſcepter. But this deſpotiſm, which in the former government had been ſhared among a few, is now concentered and united in one. This one man invites us to negociate for peace with him, and adduces his own cha-

racter as an inducement! We will suppose, for a moment, that this man were a stranger to us; that this man, who comprehends in his single person all the real power of France, executive and legislative: who is the sole proposer of all laws to mock legislators, of whom he was the sole creator: who has all the military forces at his immediate disposal, and all the offices of that great empire, both civil and military, at his immediate patronage: that this man, invested with all the powers of all their directors and councils, all uncurtailed and unmodified; we will suppose, for a moment, that this man were a stranger to us: he invites us to negociation, and he offers his own character as the pledge: and he acts consistently in this offer; for he is the sole governor of France, and on his character all depends. Before, then, we suspend our efforts; before we lay down those arms which have given us security, we may be allowed to ask, who this stranger is. But this man is no stranger to us; we know him; and what do we know of him? He tells us of his well-known pacific dispositions; and these proposals are, it seems, the second attempt, on his part, toward a general pacification! Yet we find no proposals for a general peace; he adopts the same plan as his predecessors, and still aims at separate treaties. He proposes to us to negociate; we return a cold answer, and inform him his proposals are not likely to be accepted by us at all, but that they certainly cannot be accepted by us except in concert with our Allies. Not discouraged, he makes his second application, and in this he endeavours to shift the ground of aggression; he defends the conduct of his predecessors, but still he makes no proposal for a general peace. Yet we must, per force, give him credit for his paci-

fic diſpoſitions and undoubted good-will toward this country! Theſe pacific diſpoſitions, and this good-will, we may aptly illuſtrate by two anecdotes: In the fluſh of victory, when he had even terminated the war with Auſtria, he addreſſed his ſoldiers as the future army of England, and proclaimed to them, that yet more glorious laurels were reſerved for them: they were to pluck them on the banks of the Thames. At the ſame time he diſpatched Monge and Berthier, his friends and confidants, to the Directory; and theſe, in the perſon of their commander, addreſſed that body as follows: "Citizens! we have humbled Auſtria: Britain remains; France and Britain are incompatible: now, then for Britain." Such were his diſpoſitions as a pacificator!

When the conſtitution of the third year was eſtabliſhed, under Barras, that conſtitution was impoſed by the arms of Buonaparté, then commanding the army of the Triumverate in Paris. To that conſtitution he then ſwore fidelity: how often he has repeated the ſame oath I know not; but twice, at leaſt, we know, that he has not only repeated it himſelf, but tendered it to others, under circumſtances too ſtriking not to be ſtated.

Sir, the Houſe cannot have forgotten the revolution of the 4th of September, which produced the diſmiſſal of Lord Malmſbury from Liſle. How was that revolution procured? it was procured chiefly by the promiſe of Buonaparté, in the name of his army, decidedly to ſupport the Directory in thoſe meaſures which led to the infringement and violation of every thing that the authors of the conſtitution of 1795, or its adherents, could conſider as fundamental, and which eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of deſpotiſm inferior only to that

now realized in his own perſon. Immediately before this event, in the midſt of the deſolation and bloodſhed of Italy, he had received the ſacred preſent of new banners from the Directory: he delivered them to his army with this exhortation: "Let us ſwear, fellow Soldiers! by the names of the patriots who have died by our ſide, eternal hatred to the enemies of the Conſtitution of the Third Year:" that very conſtitution which he, ſoon after, enabled the Directory to violate, and which, at the head of his grenadiers, he has now, finally, deſtroyed! Sir, that oath was again renewed, in the midſt of that very ſcene to which I have laſt referred; the oath of fidelity to the conſtitution of the third year was adminiſtered to all the members of the Aſſembly (then ſitting under the terror of the bayonet) as the ſolemn preparation for the buſineſs of the day; and the morning was uſhered in with ſwearing attachment to the conſtitution that the evening might cloſe with its deſtruction!

If we carry our views out of France, and look at the dreadful catalogue of all the breaches of treaty, all the acts of perfidy, at which I have only glanced, and which are preciſely commenſurate with the number of treaties which the Republic has made; (for I have ſought in vain for any one which it has made and which it has not broken) if we trace the hiſtory of them all, from the beginning of the Revolution to the preſent time, or if we ſelect thoſe which have been accompanied by the moſt atrocious cruelty, and marked the moſt ſtrongly with the characteriſtic features of the Revolution, the name of Buonaparte will be found allied to more of them than that of any other that can be handed down in the hiſtory of the crimes and miſeries of the laſt ten years! his name will be

recorded with the horrors committed in Italy, in the memorable campaign of 1796 and 1797, in the Milaneſe, in Genoa, in Modena, in Tuſcany, in Rome, and in Venice.

His entrance into Lombardy was announced by a ſolemn proclamation, iſſued on the 27th of April, 1796, which terminated with theſe words: "Nations of Italy! the French army is come to break your chains; the French are the friends of the people in every country; your religion, your property, your cuſtoms, ſhall be reſpected." This was followed by a ſecond proclamation, dated from Milan, 20th of May, and ſigned Buonaparté, in theſe terms: "Reſpect for property and perſonal ſecurity; reſpect for the religion of countries: theſe are the ſentiments of the Government of the French Republic and of the Army of Italy. The victorious French conſider the nations of Lombardy as their brothers." In teſtimony of this fraternity, and to fulfil the ſolemn pledge of reſpecting property, this very Proclamation impoſed on the Milaneſe a proviſional contribution to the amount of twenty millions of livres, or near one million ſterling; and ſucceſſive exactions were afterwards levied, on that ſingle ſtate, to the amount, in the whole, of near ſix millions ſterling! The regard to religion and to the cuſtoms of the country was manifeſted with the ſame ſcrupulous fidelity: the churches were given up to indiſcriminate plunder; every religious and charitable fund, every public treaſure, was confiſcated: the country was made the ſcene of every ſpecies of diſorder and rapine; the prieſts, the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip, all the objects of religious reverence, were openly inſulted by the French troops:

at Pavia, particularly, the tomb of St. Auguſtine, which the inhabitants were accuſtomed to view with peculiar veneration, was mutilated and defaced: this laſt provocation having rouſed the reſentment of the people, they flew to arms, ſurrounded the French garriſon, and took them priſoners, but carefully abſtained from offering any violence to a ſingle ſoldier. In revenge for this conduct, Buonaparté, then on his march to the Mincio, ſuddenly returned, collected his troops, and carried the extremity of military execution over the country: he burnt the town of Benaſco and maſſacred eight hundred of its inhabitants! he marched to Pavia, took it by ſtorm, and delivered it over to general plunder; and publiſhed, at the ſame moment, a proclamation, of the 26th of May, ordering his troops to ſhoot all thoſe who had not laid down their arms and taken an oath of obedience, and to burn every village where the *tocſin* ſhould be ſounded, and to put its inhabitants to death: the tranſactions with Modena were on a ſmaller ſcale but in the ſame character. Buonaparté began by ſigning a treaty, by which the Duke of Modena was to pay twelve millions of livres, and neutrality was promiſed him in return; this was ſoon followed by the perſonal arreſt of the Duke and by a freſh extortion of two hundred thouſand ſequins: after this he was permitted, on the payment of a farther ſum, to ſign another treaty, called *a Convention de Sûreté*, which, of courſe, was only the prelude to the repetition of ſimilar exactions.

Nearly at the ſame period, in violation of the rights of neutrality, and of the treaty which had been concluded between the French Republic, and the Grand Duke of Tuſcany in the preceding year; and

in breach of a positive promise, given only a few days before, the French army forcibly took possession of Leghorn, for the purpose of seizing the British property which was deposited there, and confiscating it as prize; and shortly after, when Buonaparté agreed to evacuate Leghorn in return for the evacuation of the Island of Elbe, which was in the possession of the British troops, he insisted upon a separate article, by which, in addition to the plunder before obtained, by the infraction of the law of nations, it was stipulated, that the Grand Duke should pay to the French the expense which they had incurred by thus invading his territory.

In the proceedings towards Genoa, we shall find not only a continuation of the same system of extortion and plunder, (in violation of the solemn pledge contained in the Proclamations already referred to), but a striking instance of the revolutionary means employed for the destruction of independent governments. A French minister was at that time resident in Genoa, which was acknowledged by France to be in a state of neutrality and friendship: in breach of this neutrality Buonaparté began, in the year 1796, with the demand of a loan; he afterwards, from the month of September, required and enforced the payment of a monthly subsidy, to the amount which he thought proper to stipulate: these exactions were accompanied by repeated assurances and protestations of friendship; they were followed, in May, 1797, by a conspiracy against the government, fomented by the emissaries of the French embassy, and conducted by the partizans of France, encouraged, and afterwards protected by the French minister. The conspirators failed in their first attempt, overpowered by

the courage and voluntary exertions of the inhabitants; their force was diſperſed, and many of their number were arreſted. Buonaparté inſtantly conſidered the defeat of the conſpirators as an act of aggreſſion againſt the French Republic; he diſpatched an aide-de-camp with an order to the Senate of this independent ſtate; firſt, to releaſe all the French who were detained; ſecondly, to puniſh thoſe who had arreſted them; thirdly, to declare that they had had no ſhare in the inſurrection; and, fourthly, to diſarm the people. Several French priſoners were immediately releaſed, and a Proclamation was preparing to diſarm the inhabitants, when, by a ſecond note, Buonaparté required the arreſt of the three Inquiſitors of State, and immediate alterations in the conſtitution; he accompanied this with an order to the French miniſter to quit Genoa, if his commands were not immediately carried into execution; at the ſame moment his troops entered the territory of the Republic, and ſhortly after the councils, intimidated and overpowered, abdicated their functions. Three deputies were then ſent to Buonaparté to receive from him a new conſtitution; on the 6th of June, after the conferences at Montebello, he ſigned a convention, or rather iſſued a decree, by which he fixed the new form of their Government; he himſelf named proviſionally all the members who were to compoſe it, and he required the payment of ſeven millions of livres, as the price of the ſubverſion of their conſtitution, and their independence. Theſe tranſactions require but one ſhort comment; it is to be found in the official account given of them at Paris, which is in theſe memorable words: "General Buonaparté has purſued the only line of conduct

which could be allowed in the repreſentative of a nation, which has ſupported the war only to procure the ſolemn acknowledgment of the right of nations, to change the form of their government. He contributed nothing towards the revolution of Genoa, but he ſeized the firſt moment to acknowledge the new Government, as ſoon as he ſaw that it was the reſult of the wiſhes of the people."

It is unneceſſary to dwell on the wanton attacks againſt Rome, under the directions of Buonaparté himſelf, in the year 1796, and in the beginning of 1797, which led, firſt, to the treaty of Tolentino concluded by Buonaparté, in which, by enormous ſacrifices, the Pope was allowed to purchaſe the acknowledgment of his authority as a Sovereign Prince; and, ſecondly, to the violation of that very treaty, and to the ſubverſion of the Papal authority by Joſeph Buonaparté, the brother and the agent of the General, and the miniſter of the French Republic to the Holy See. A tranſaction, accompanied by outrages and inſults towards the pious and venerable Pontiff (in ſpite of the ſanctity of his age and the unſullied purity of his character) which, even to a Proteſtant, ſeem hardly ſhort of the guilt of ſacrilege!

But of all the diſguſting and tragical ſcenes which took place in Italy, in the courſe of the period I am deſcribing, thoſe which paſſed at Venice are perhaps the moſt ſtriking, and the moſt characteriſtic. In May, 1796, the French army, under Buonaparté, in the full tide of its ſucceſs againſt the Auſtrians, firſt approached the territories of this Republic, which, from the commencement of the war, had obſerved a

rigid neutrality. Their entrance on these territories was, as usual, accompanied by a solemn Proclamation, in the name of their general.—"Buonaparté to the Republic of Venice. It is to deliver the finest country in Europe, from the iron yoke of the proud House of Austria, that the French army have braved obstacles the most difficult to surmount. Victory, in union with justice, has crowned its efforts. The wreck of the enemy's army has retired behind the Mincio. The French army, in order to follow them, passes over the territory of the Republic of Venice; but it will never forget, that ancient friendship unites the two Republics. Religion, government, customs, and property, shall be respected. That the people may be without apprehension, the most severe discipline shall be maintained. All that may be provided for the army shall be faithfully paid for in money. The general in chief engages the officers of the Republic of Venice, the magistrates, and the priests, to make known these sentiments to the people, in order, that confidence may cement that friendship which has so long united the two nations, faithful in the path of honour, as in that of victory. The French soldier is terrible only to the enemies of his liberty and his government."—Buonaparte.

This Proclamation was followed by exactions similar to those which were practised against Genoa, by the renewal of similar professions of friendship, and the use of similar means to excite insurrection. At length, in the spring of 1797, occasion was taken, from disturbances thus excited, to forge, in the name of the Venetian Government, a Proclamation, hostile to France, and this proceeding was made the ground for military execution against the country, and for

effecting by force the subversion of its ancient government, and the establishment of the democratic forms of the French revolution. This revolution was sealed by a treaty, signed in May, 1797, between Buonaparté, and commissioners appointed on the part of the new and revolutionary Government of Venice. By the second and third secret articles of this treaty, Venice agreed to give as a ransom, to secure itself against all farther exactions or demands, the sum of three millions of livres in money, the value of three millions more in articles of naval supply, and three ships of the line; and it received in return the assurances of the friendship and support of the French Republic. Immediately after the signature of this treaty, the arsenal, the library, and the palace of St. Mark, were ransacked and plundered, and heavy additional contributions were imposed upon its inhabitants. And, in not more than four months afterwards, this very Republic of Venice, united by alliance to France, the creature of Buonaparté himself, from whom it had received the present of French liberty, was, by the same Buonaparté, transferred, under the treaty of Campo Formio, to "that iron yoke of the proud House of Austria." to deliver it from which, he had represented in his first Proclamation to be the great object of all his operations.

Sir, all this is followed by the memorable expedition into Egypt, which I mention, not merely because it forms a principle article in the catalogue of those acts of violence and perfidy in which Buonaparté has been engaged; not merely because it was an enterprize peculiarly his own, of which he was himself the planner, the executor, and the betrayer; but chiefly, because, when from thence he retires to a

different ſcene, to take poſſeſſion of a new throne, from which he is to ſpeak upon an equality with the Kings and Governors of Europe; he leaves behind him, at the moment of his departure, a ſpecimen which cannot be miſtaken, of his principles of negociation. The Intercepted Correſpondence, which has been alluded to in this debate, ſeems to afford the ſtrongeſt ground to believe, that his offers to the Turkiſh Government to evacuate Egypt, were made ſolely with a view "to gain time;" that the ratification of any treaty on this ſubject, was to be delayed, with the view of finally eluding its performance, if any change of circumſtances, favourable to the French, ſhould occur in the interval. But whatever gentlemen may think of the intention with which theſe offers were made, there will, at leaſt, be no queſtion with reſpect to the credit due to thoſe profeſſions by which he endeavoured to prove, in Egypt, his pacific diſpoſitions. He expreſsly enjoins his ſucceſſors, ſtrongly and ſteadily to inſiſt in all his intercourſe with the Turks, that he came to Egypt with no hoſtile deſign, and that he never meant to keep poſſeſſion of the country; while, on the oppoſite page of the ſame inſtructions, he ſtates in the moſt unequivocal manner, his regret at the diſcomfiture of his favourite project of colonizing Egypt, and of maintaining it as a territorial acquiſition. Now, Sir, if in any note addreſſed to the Grand Vizier, or the Sultan, Buonaparté had claimed credit for the ſincerity of his profeſſions, that he forcibly invaded Egypt with no view hoſtile to Turkey, and ſolely for the purpoſe of moleſting the Britiſh intereſts; is there any one argument now uſed to induce us to believe his preſent profeſſions to us,

which might not have been equally urged on that occaſion to the Turkiſh government? would not thoſe profeſſions have been equally ſupported by ſolemn aſſeveration, by the ſame reference which is now made to perſonal character, with this ſingle difference, that they would then have been accompanied with one inſtance leſs of that perfidy which we have had occaſion to trace in this very tranſaction.

It is unneceſſary to ſay more with reſpect to the credit due to his profeſſions, or the reliance to be placed on his general character: but it will, perhaps, be argued, that whatever may be his character, or whatever has been his paſt conduct, he has now an intereſt in making and obſerving peace. That he has an intereſt in making peace, is, at beſt, but a doubtful propoſition; and that he has an intereſt in preſerving it is ſtill more uncertain. That it is his intereſt to negotiate I do not indeed deny; it is his intereſt, above all, to engage this country in ſeparate negotiation, in order to looſen and diſſolve the whole ſyſtem of the confederacy on the Continent; to palſy, at once, the arms of Ruſſia or of Auſtria, or of any other country that might look to you for ſupport; and then, either to break off his ſeparate treaty, or, if he ſhould have concluded it, to apply the leſſon which is taught in his ſchool of policy in Egypt; and to revive, at his pleaſure, thoſe claims of indemnification which may have been reſerved to ſome happier period. War is the only poſſible mean of his permanence; his hold upon France is on the ſword. He is connected neither with the ſoil of France nor the hearts of Frenchmen: a foreigner, a fugitive, and a uſurper, alike deteſted by the Republicans and the Royaliſts,

he appeals to his fortune, that is, to his ſoldiers and his ſword. He cannot afford to let his military fame die away; with no end but ambition, no paſſion but a criminal glory, he muſt groan to regain his laurels, which our gallant countrymen had plucked from his brow before the walls of Acre; and, probably, a treaty is deſirable to him, as furniſhing an opportunity of landing an army in Ireland, and there to keep the treaty with his wonted good faith, at the head of an army. I have ever underſtood, that, of all governments, a military deſpotiſm was in its nature the leaſt ſtable. No government can long ſtand that is not built on the public opinion: the follies and enormities of the French Revolution have fixed and made firm on this public opinion all the other governments of Europe; men have been taught to feel bleſſings and perceive advantages by the fearful contraſt.

What then is the inference I draw? in no caſe to treat with Buonaparté? By no means: the concerns of nations, and, above all, thoſe of peace and war are not to be reaſoned upon by extremes. But, where all preſumption is againſt a man we ought not to wait for new evidence in his favour; where all the facts hitherto tend to ſuſpicion or grievance, we are entitled, we are compelled, to demand the evidence of new facts, and not to relax in our exertions till they have been afforded to us. There are few facts, I acknowledge, that would be of ſufficient importance to weigh againſt our former experience; but every thing depends on degree and compariſon. If different maxims be aſſumed and acted upon in France; if the effects of the arms of the Allies ſhould delude our preſent well grounded expectations; if the hopes of ſubſtituting the ancient government ſhould become leſs;

in ſhort, if the riſk decreaſe, and the ſucceſs diminiſh; then I promiſe, for myſelf and my colleagues, that we ſhall not remain uninfluenced, and ſhall regulate our advice to our Sovereign accordingly.

But, Sir, there are ſome gentlemen in the Houſe who ſeem to conſider it already certain, that the ultimate ſucceſs to which I am looking is unattainable: they ſuppoſe us contending only for the reſtoration of the French Monarchy, which they believe to be impracticable, and deny to be deſirable for this country. We have been aſked, in the courſe of this debate, "Do you think you can impoſe monarchy upon France againſt the will of the nation?" I never thought it, I never hoped it, I never wiſhed it. I have thought, I have hoped, I have wiſhed, that the time might come when the effect of the arms of the Allies might ſo far overpower the military force which keeps France in bondage, as to give vent and ſcope to the thoughts and actions of its inhabitants. We have, indeed, already ſeen abundant proof of what is the diſpoſition of a large part of the country; we have ſeen, almoſt through the whole of the revolution, the Weſtern provinces of France deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, obſtinately contending for their ancient laws and religion; we have recently ſeen, in the revival of that war, freſh proof of the zeal which ſtill animates thoſe countries in the ſame cauſe. Theſe efforts (I ſtate it diſtinctly, and there are thoſe near me who can bear witneſs to the truth of the aſſertion) were not produced by any inſtigation from hence; they were the effects of a rooted ſentiment prevailing through all thoſe provinces, forced into action by the Law of the Hoſtages and the other tyrannical meaſures of the Directory, at the moment when we were en-

deavouring to diſcourage ſo hazardous an enterprize. If, under ſuch circumſtances, we find them giving proofs of their unalterable perſeverance in their principles; if there is every reaſon to believe that the ſame diſpoſition prevails in many other extenſive provinces of France: if every party appears, at length, equally wearied and diſappointed with all the ſucceſſive changes which the Revolution has produced; if the queſtion is no longer between monarchy, and even the pretence and name of liberty, but between the ancient line of hereditary princes on the one hand, and a military tyrant, a foreign uſurper, on the other; if the armies of that uſurper are likely to find ſufficient occupation on the frontiers, and to be forced, at length, to leave the interior of the country at liberty to manifeſt its real feeling and diſpoſition; what reaſon have we to anticipate, that the reſtoration of monarchy, under ſuch circumſtances, is impracticable?

The Learned Gentleman (Mr. Erſkine,) has, indeed, told us, that almoſt every man now poſſeſſed of property in France, muſt neceſſarily be intereſted in reſiſting ſuch a change; and that, therefore, it never can be effected. If that ſingle conſideration were concluſive againſt the poſſibility of a change, for the ſame reaſon the Revolution itſelf, by which the whole property of the country was taken from its ancient poſſeſſors, could never have taken place. But, though I deny it to be an inſuperable obſtacle, I admit it to be a point of conſiderable delicacy and difficulty. It is not indeed for us to diſcuſs minutely, what arrangement might be formed on this point to conciliate and unite oppoſite intereſts; but whoever conſiders the precarious tenure and depreciated value of lands held under the revolutionary title, and the

low price for which they have generally been obtained, will think it, perhaps, not impoſſible that an ample compenſation might be made to the bulk of the preſent poſſeſſors, both for the purchaſe money they have paid and for the actual value of what they now enjoy; and that the ancient proprietors might be reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of their former rights, with only ſuch a temporary ſacrifice as reaſonable men would willingly make to obtain ſo eſſential an object.

The Honourable and Learned Gentleman, however, has ſupported his reaſoning on this part of the ſubject by an argument, which he undoubtedly conſiders as unanſwerable—a reference to what would be his own conduct in ſimilar circumſtances; and he tells us that every landed proprietor in France muſt ſupport the preſent order of things in that country from the ſame motive that he, and every proprietor of three per cent. ſtock, would join in the defence of the conſtitution of Great Britain. I muſt do the Learned Gentleman the juſtice to believe that the habits of his profeſſion muſt ſupply him with better and nobler motives for defending a conſtitution, which he has had ſo much occaſion to ſtudy and examine, than any which he can derive from the value of his proportion, (however large) of three per cents, even ſuppoſing them to continue to increaſe in price as rapidly as they have done during the laſt three years, in which the ſecurity and proſperity of the country has been eſtabliſhed by following a ſyſtem directly oppoſite to the counſels of the Learned Gentleman and his friends.

The Learned Gentleman's illuſtration, however,

though it fails with reſpect to himſelf, is happily and aptly applied to the ſtate of France; and let us ſee what inference it furniſhes with reſpect to the probable attachment of monied men to the continuance of the revolutionary ſyſtem, as well as with reſpect to the general ſtate of public credit in that country. I do not indeed know that there exiſts preciſely any fund of three per cents in France, to furniſh a teſt for the patriotiſm and public ſpirit of the lovers of French liberty. But there is another fund which may equally anſwer our purpoſe—the capital of three per cent. ſtock, which formerly exiſted in France, has undergone a whimſical operation, ſimilar to many other expedients of finance which we have ſeen in the courſe of the revolution—this was performed by a decree, which, as they termed it, *republicaniſed* their debt; that is, in other words, ſtruck off, at once, two-thirds of the capital, and left the proprietors to take their chance for the payment of intereſt on the remainder! this remnant was afterwards converted into the preſent five per cent ſtock. I had the curioſity, very lately, to inquire what price it bore in the market, and I was told that the price had ſomewhat riſen from confidence in the new government, and was actually as high as *ſeventeen*. I really, at firſt, ſuppoſed that my informer meant ſeventeen years purchaſe for every pound of intereſt, and I began to be almoſt jealous of revolutionary credit; but I ſoon found that he literally meant ſeventeen pounds for every hundred pounds capital ſtock of five per cent.; that is, a little more than three and a half years purchaſe! So much for the value of revolutionary property, and for the attachment with which it muſt inſpire its poſſeſſors

towards the ſyſtem of government to which that value is to be aſcribed!

On the queſtion, Sir, how far the reſtoration of the French monarchy, if practicable, is deſirable, I ſhall not think it neceſſary to ſay much. Can it be ſuppoſed to be indifferent to us, or to the world, whether the throne of France is to be filled by a prince of the Houſe of Bourbon, or by him whoſe principles and conduct I have endeavoured to develope? is it nothing, with a view to influence and example, whether the fortune of this laſt Adventurer in the lottery of revolutions ſhall appear to be permanent? is it nothing, whether a ſyſtem ſhall be ſanctioned, which confirms, by one of its fundamental articles, that general transfer of property from its ancient and lawful poſſeſſors, which holds out one of the moſt terrible examples of national injuſtice, and which has furniſhed the great ſource of revolutionary finance and revolutionary ſtrength againſt all the powers of Europe?

In the exhauſted and impoveriſhed ſtate of France, it ſeems, for a time, impoſſible that any ſyſtem but that of robbery and confiſcation, any thing but the continued torture, which can be applied only by the engines of the revolution, can extort from its ruined inhabitants more than the means of ſupporting in peace the yearly expenditure of its government. Suppoſe, then, the heir of the houſe of Bourbon reinſtated on the throne, he will have ſufficient occupation in endeavouring, if poſſible, to heal the wounds, and gradually to repair the loſſes of ten years of civil convulſion; to re-animate the drooping commerce, to rekindle the induſtry, to replace the capital, and to revive the manufactures

of the country. Under such circumstances, there must, probably, be a considerable interval before such a monarch, whatever may be his views, can possess the power which can make him formidable to Europe; but, while the system of the revolution continues, the case is quite different. It is true, indeed, that even the gigantic and unnatural means by which that revolution has been supported, are so far impaired; the influence of its principles, and the terror of its arms so far weakened; and its power of action so much contracted and circumscribed; that, against the embodied force of Europe, prosecuting a vigorous war, we may justly hope that the remnant and wreck of this system cannot long oppose an effectual resistance.

But, supposing the confederacy of Europe prematurely dissolved, supposing our armies disbanded, our fleets laid up in our harbours, our exertions relaxed, and our means of precaution and defence relinquished; do we believe that the revolutionary power, with this rest and breathing-time given it to recover from the pressure under which it is now sinking, possessing still the means of calling suddenly and violently into action whatever is the remaining physical force of France, under the guidance of military despotism; do we believe that this revolutionary power, the terror of which is now beginning to vanish, will not again prove formidable to Europe? Can we forget, that in the ten years, in which that power has subsisted, it has brought more misery on surrounding nations, and produced more acts of aggression, cruelty, perfidy, and enormous ambition, than can be traced in the history of France for the centuries which have elapsed since the foundation

of its monarchy, including all the wars, which, in the courſe of that period, have been waged by any of thoſe ſovereigns, whoſe projects of aggrandiſement and violations of treaty afford a conſtant theme of general reproach againſt the ancient government of France? and if not, can we heſitate whether we have the beſt proſpect of permanent peace, the beſt ſecurity for the independence and ſafety of Europe from the reſtoration of the lawful government, or from the continuance of revolutionary power in the hands of Buonaparté?

In compromiſe and treaty with ſuch a power, placed in ſuch hands as now exerciſe it, and retaining the ſame means of annoyance which it now poſſeſſes, I ſee little hope of permanent ſecurity. I ſee no poſſibility, at this moment, of ſuch a peace as would juſtify that liberal intercourſe which is the eſſence of real amity, no chance of terminating the expenſes or the anxieties of war or of reſtoring to us any of the advantages of eſtabliſhed tranquillity; and, as a ſincere lover of peace, I cannot be content with its nominal attainment; I muſt be deſirous of purſuing that ſyſtem which promiſes to attain, in the end, the permanent enjoyment of its ſolid and ſubſtantial bleſſings for this country and for Europe. As a ſincere lover of peace, I will not ſacrifice it by graſping at the ſhadow, when the reality is not ſubſtantially within my reach:

Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia infida eſt, quia periculoſa, quia eſſe non poteſt.

If, Sir, in all that I have now offered to the Houſe, I have ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing the propoſition, that the ſyſtem of the French Revolution has been

ſuch as to afford to foreign powers no adequate ground for ſecurity in negociation, and that the change which has recently taken place has not yet afforded that ſecurity; if I have laid before you a juſt ſtatement of the nature and extent of the danger with which we have been threatened, it would remain only ſhortly to conſider, whether there is any thing in the circumſtances of the preſent moment to induce us to accept a ſecurity confeſſedly inadequate againſt a danger of ſuch a deſcription.

It will be neceſſary here to ſay a few words on the ſubject on which Gentlemen have been ſo fond of dwelling; I mean our former negociations, and particularly that at Liſle, in 1797. I am deſirous of ſtating, frankly and openly, the true motives which induced me to concur in then recommending negociation; and I will leave it to the Houſe and to the country to judge whether our conduct at that time was inconſiſtent with the principles by which we are guided at preſent. That revolutionary policy, which I have endeavoured to deſcribe, that gigantic ſyſtem of prodigality and bloodſhed, by which the efforts of France were ſupported, and which counts for nothing the lives and the property of a nation, had, at that period, driven us to exertions which had, in a great meaſure, exhauſted the ordinary means of defraying our immenſe expenditure, and had led many of thoſe who were the moſt convinced of the original juſtice and neceſſity of the war, and of the danger of Jacobin principles, to doubt the poſſibility of perſiſting in it till complete and adequate ſecurity could be obtained. There ſeemed too much reaſon to believe, that, without ſome new meaſure to check the rapid accumulation of debt,

we could no longer truſt to the ſtability of that funding ſyſtem, by which the nation had been enabled to ſupport the expenſe of all the different wars in which we have engaged in the courſe of the preſent century. In order to continue our exertions with vigour, it became neceſſary that a new and ſolid ſyſtem of finance ſhould be eſtabliſhed, ſuch as could not be rendered effectual but by the general and decided concurrence of public opinion; ſuch a concurrence in the ſtrong and vigorous meaſures neceſſary for the purpoſe could not then be expected, but from ſatisfying the country, by the ſtrongeſt and moſt decided proofs, that peace, on terms in any degree admiſſible, was unattainable.

Under this impreſſion, we thought it our duty to attempt negociation, not from the ſanguine hope, even at that time, that its reſult could afford us complete ſecurity, but from the perſuaſion, that the danger ariſing from peace, under ſuch circumſtances, was leſs than that of continuing the war with precarious and inadequate means. The reſult of thoſe negociations proved, that the enemy would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the ſacrifice of the honour and independence of the country. From this conviction a ſpirit and enthuſiaſm was excited in the nation, which produced the efforts to which we are indebted for the ſubſequent change in our ſituation. Having witneſſed that happy change, having obſerved the increaſing proſperity and ſecurity of the country from that period, ſeeing how much more ſatisfactory our proſpects now are than any which we could then have derived from the ſucceſsful reſult of negociation; I have not ſcrupled to declare, that I conſider the rupture of the negociation on the

part of the enemy as a fortunate circumſtance for the country. But, becauſe theſe are my ſentiments at this time, after reviewing what has ſince paſſed, does it follow that we were, at that time, inſincere in endeavouring to obtain peace? the Learned Gentleman, indeed, aſſumes that we were, and he even makes a conceſſion, of which I deſire not to claim the benefit: he is willing to admit, that, on our principles, and our view of the ſubject, inſincerity would have been juſtifiable. I know, Sir, no plea that would juſtify thoſe who are entruſted with the conduct of public affairs in holding out to Parliament and to the nation one object while they were, in fact, purſuing another. I did, in fact, believe, at the moment, the concluſion of peace (if it could have been obtained) to be preferable to the continuance of the war, under its increaſing riſks and difficulties; I therefore wiſhed for peace, I ſincerely laboured for peace: our endeavours were fruſtrated by the act of the enemy. If, then, the circumſtances are ſince changed, if what paſſed at that period has afforded a proof that the object we aimed at was unattainable; and if all that has paſſed ſince has proved, that, if peace had been then made, it could not have been durable; are we bound to repeat the ſame experiment, when every reaſon againſt it is ſtrengthened by ſubſequent experience, and when the inducements which led to it at that time have ceaſed to exiſt?

When we conſider the reſources and the ſpirit of the country, can any man doubt, that, if adequate ſecurity is not now to be obtained by treaty, we have the means of proſecuting the conteſt without material difficulty or danger, and with a reaſonable proſpect of

completely attaining our object? I will not dwell on the improved ſtate of public credit, on the continually increaſing amount (in ſpite of extraordinary temporary burdens) of our permanent revenue, on the yearly acceſſion of wealth, to an extent unprecedented even in the moſt flouriſhing times of peace, which we are deriving, in the midſt of war, from our extended and flouriſhing commerce; on the progreſſive improvement and growth of our manufactures; on the proofs which we ſee on all ſides of the uninterrupted accumulation of productive capital; and on the active exertion of every branch of national induſtry, which can tend to ſupport and augment the population, the riches and the power of the country. As little need I recal your attention to the additional means of action which we have derived from the great augmentation of our diſpoſable military force, the continued triumphs of our powerful and victorious navy, and the events which, in the courſe of the laſt two years, have contributed to raiſe the military ardour and glory of the country to a height unexampled during any period of our hiſtory.

In addition to theſe grounds of reliance on our own ſtrength and exertions, we have ſeen the conſummate ſkill and valour of the arms of our Allies proved, by that ſeries of unexampled ſucceſs in the courſe of the laſt campaign; and we have every reaſon to expect a co-operation on the Continent, even to a greater extent, in the courſe of the preſent year. If we compare this view of our own ſituation with every thing we can obſerve of the ſtate and condition of our enemy; if we can trace him labouring under equal difficulty in finding men to recruit his army, or mo-

ney to pay it; if we know, that, in the courſe of the leaſt year, the moſt rigorous efforts of military conſcription were ſcarcely ſufficient to replace to the French armies, at the end of the campaign, the numbers which they had loſt in the courſe of it; if we have ſeen that that force, then in poſſeſſion of advantages which it has ſince loſt, was unable to contend with the efforts of the Combined Armies; if we know, that, even while ſupported by the plunder of all the countries which they had over-run, thoſe armies were reduced, by the confeſſion of their commanders, to the extremity of diſtreſs, and deſtitute not only of the principal articles of military ſupply, but almoſt of the neceſſaries of life; if we ſee them now driven back within their own frontiers, and confined within a country, whoſe own reſources have, long ſince, been proclaimed, by their ſucceſſive governments, to be unequal either to paying or maintaining them; if we obſerve, that, ſince the laſt revolution, no one ſubſtantial or effectual meaſure has been adopted to remedy the intolerable diſorder of their finances and to ſupply the deficiency of their credit and reſources; if we ſee, through large and populous diſtricts of France, either open war levied againſt the preſent uſurpation, or evident marks of diſunion and diſtraction, which the firſt occaſion may call forth into a flame; if I ſay, Sir, this compariſon be juſt, I feel myſelf authorized to conclude from it, not that we are entitled to conſider ourſelves certain of ultimate ſucceſs; not that we are to ſuppoſe ourſelves exempted from the unforeſeen viciſſitudes of war; but, that, conſidering the value of the object for which we are contending, the means for ſupporting the conteſt, and the probable courſe of human events, we ſhould

be inexcuſable, if, at this moment, we were to relinquiſh the ſtruggle on any grounds ſhort of entire and complete ſecurity: that from perſeverance in our efforts, under ſuch circumſtances, we have the faireſt reaſon to expect the full attainment of our object; but that, at all events, even if we are diſappointed in our more ſanguine hopes, we are more likely to gain than to loſe by the continuation of the conteſt: that every month to which it is continued, even if it ſhould not in its effects lead to the final deſtruction of the Jacobin ſyſtem, muſt tend ſo far to weaken and exhauſt it, as to give us, at leaſt, a greater comparative ſecurity in any termination of the war: that, on all theſe grounds, this is not the moment at which it is conſiſtent with our intereſt or our duty to liſten to any propoſals of negociation with the preſent Ruler of France; but that we are not, therefore, pledged to any unalterable determination as to our future conduct, that in this we muſt be regulated by the courſe of events; and that it will be the duty of his Majeſty's miniſters, from time to time, to adapt their meaſures to any variation of circumſtances, and to conſider how far the effects of the military operations of the Allies, or of the internal diſpoſition of France, correſpond with our preſent expectations.

Mr. Fox roſe next: he began by ſaying, that the hour was too late, the Houſe too much exhauſted, for him to undertake to follow the Right honourable Gentleman into all the detail of circumſtances which formed the paſt cauſes of the war and conſtituted the proofs of the firſt aggreſſion. The preſent, as his Honourable Friend, Mr. Erſkine, had ſaid, formed a new era in the war, and it was infinitely of more importance, in the preſent moment, to inquire into the

uſe which ought to be made of the overtures of negociation than to diſcuſs which of the two parties was the aggreſſor. The Right honourable Gentleman, however, had occupied a very long time in going over all theſe topics, which he had often before, too ſucceſsfully, preſſed on the Houſe, and by which he had drawn them into an approbation of his meaſures. In this new era of the war, when we were again come to the favourable point ſo anxiouſly deſired, when negociation was offered us, were we to be told, that we ought to hold out becauſe there were appearances that promiſed us ſucceſs! Gracious God! after being told, five years ago, that France was ſo completely ſunk into the gulph of bankruptcy, that it was an argument againſt treating for peace, that they might not have an opportunity to recruit their finances again to moleſt us; and, after ſeeing the gigantic efforts they had made ſince this pretended ruin, were we again to be deluded with reports of favourable appearances, as an argument againſt negociation? He lamented, in common with every generous friend to peace, the harſh and unconciliating language which was held in the anſwer to the propoſition, as well as in that Houſe. He remembered with pleaſure the language of Lord Malmſbury, at Paris, in anſwer to the haughty and improper terms uſed by La Croix—that reproachful language was not the way by which two nations could approach one another toward reconciliation. For this reaſon, alſo, he muſt lament that the Right honourable Gentleman thought it neceſſary to go with ſuch minuteneſs into the early circumſtances of the war. He certainly did not agree with him in ſeveral of his aſſertions: he ſtill continued to think that this country was the aggreſſor; and that

Auſtria and Pruſſia were aggreſſors was a fact which no clear and impartail mind could, for a moment, heſitate to believe. It would be in vain for the Right honourable Gentleman to ſet up long and ingenious reaſonings againſt the evidence of documents which were in every one's hand, and which demonſtrated, beyond all refutation, that not only the unfortunate Monarch himſelf, and his confidential adviſers, had entered into negociations with foreign powers, and to partition France, but to dictate, by force of arms, to France and to compel them to depart from the ſyſtem which they thought neceſſary to their own internal happineſs. The treaty of Pavia, as it has been called, may have been a forgery, and, if you pleaſe, (ſaid Mr. Fox) a nonentity: but are gentlemen prepared to deny the truth of the declaration made by the Emperor at Mantua? are gentlemen prepared to deny the ſtory as it is related by M. Bertrand de Moleville? is it true, that neither this nor the declaratson of Pilnitz were treaties for the partition of France? But what is the exact nature of the latter of theſe? Auſtria and Pruſſia declare themſelves reſolved to attack France and force the French people to reſtore their ancient kings, as ſoon as the other princes ſhall concur with them in the laudable deſign: is not this aggreſſion? Suppoſe that any powers ſhould make a ſimilar declaration againſt England, and ſhould ſay, "We mean to attack you, but not yet; we wait for a certain occaſion, which will ſoon occur, and then our reſolution againſt you is taken." Or, ſuppoſe that ſuch a convention as this ſhould be made in the dark, and kept ſecret from the power againſt which it is directed; will any reaſonable man ſay that this is not in

the nature of an aggreſſion? Ah! but the decree of the 19th of November, 1792, was a direct inſult to all thrones, and to England among the reſt. I do not much regard the inſanity of general inſults thrown out, like this, againſt all ſtates: but did not M. Chauvelin attempt to give an explanation of this decree? yes; but it was not ſatisfactory. Did they ſay ſo to him? when they diſmiſſed him did they alledge this as a reaſon, or give him an opportunity of rendering a more ſufficient explanation? no ſuch thing. Did you hold out to the French what terms would have been ſatisfactory to you, and what would have prevailed upon you to preſerve your line of neutrality? I contend, that when a nation refuſes to ſtate the thing which would ſatisfy her ſhe ſhews no ardent nor honeſt deſire of peace. You now aſſert, that the claim ſet up by France reſpecting the Scheldt was a ſource of quarrel: did you ſay ſo at the time? The Right honourable Gentleman has this day preſented, for the firſt time, the copy of a diſpatch, written about the time to the court of Peterſburgh. I moſt perfectly approve of this Paper; it was excellent as a compoſition: it wanted only to be acted upon. If this diſpatch had been communicated to Paris inſtead of Peterſburgh; if you had told the French with candour what you complained of, what you expected, and what you ſhould think it neceſſary to do for your own ſecurity, in caſe they did not give you the ſatisfaction required, you would have acted with fairneſs and they would have had no power of fixing upon you the charge of being the aggreſſor. But no notice was given to France whatever, and M. Chauvelin was diſmiſſed in a way which conſtituted an abſolute declaration of war. Do gentlemen forget that a treaty

ſubſiſted by which it was poſitively ſtipulated, that the diſmiſſal of a miniſter from the court of either of the parties was to be regarded by the otheer as tantamount to a delaration of war? This proviſion had been introduced in conſequence of a diſpute about the point of declaration.

That Pruſſia felt that, in her declaration of war againſt France, ſhe was the aggreſſor, is proved by one circumſtance pretty clearly; viz. that, notwithſtanding our defenſive treaty with Pruſſia, by which, if either ſide were attacked, ſhe could demand the ſtipulated defenſive aid from the other, no demand was made on England for this aid, becauſe, obviouſly, it was a caſe which did not come within the line of the treaty, and which, therefore, did not warrant them to make the demand. In the ſame manner, that Auſtria was in a hoſtile poſture againſt France is manifeſt from this; that they complained of the internal ſtate of France, not of the external ambition. In all this, ſaid Mr. Fox, I am not juſtifying their conduct, either internal or external. I think them both as bad and as execrable as the human heart can conceive. It was not to be expected that French rulers could have been ſo long under the conduct of the race of Bourbon without imbibing the reſtleſs ambition, the perfidy, the falſehood, of that cabinet.—They followed the practice of their great Prototype; and my complaint is, that you ſhould expect from them no better, more moral, or more honourable conduct than you had been accuſtomed to meet with from the Houſe of Bourbon. It is ſaid, that wherever they have gone they have introduced revolution—they have propagated their rights of man. What did Louis XIV? did he not,

in every country which he over-run, eſtabliſh his chamber of claims, by which, whatever claims the country might have upon any other tract, he made them his own, and acted upon them? But when the Confederates came to talk of the manner of reſtoring the peace of Europe, and that the triple alliance was formed, what was the language of that great and honeſt man De Witt? did he ſay, that becauſe many parts of his conqueſts were obtained contrary to all juſtice and right, that therefore they ſhould not treat with him, or that they ſhould not conſent even to leave him part of what he had ſo infamouſly acquired? In like manner, it may be ſaid, that though the French ſeized on Savoy they ſeized on it on Bourbon principles. Hume, the hiſtorian, whoſe greateſt fault is the childiſh love of princes, ſpeaks of the good fortune and bad fortune of Louis XIV: he reckons, among the inſtances of his bad fortune, that he never once hit upon a juſtifiable cauſe of war. This may be ſaid, perhaps, of the Republic of France. Her pretence for the ſeizing of Savoy was quite in the Bourbon principle; they took it, they ſaid, on account of the *convenances morales et phyſiques*. There was nothing then in the nature of the atrocities of France which we and which Europe had not been accuſtomed to in the uniform practices of the French court; and, as we had never diſdained to treat with the princes on account of their perfidy, and ambition, and violations, ſo we ought not to have refuſed to treat with republican France when the monarch requeſted us to to mediate between the country and the German courts.

He objected, in like manner, to all the pretended

and hypocritical ſenſibilities, about which we had made ſuch parade. If he knew any thing of the genuine doctrines of Chriſtianity, there was not to be found, in the New Teſtament, the rule, the ſentiment, the juſtification, of a war for the cauſe of religion; it was blaſphemous impiety and hypocriſy to preſume to call war by ſuch a name: nor would it be poſſible for any war to be concluded if nations were inceſſantly to recur to the firſt cauſes. He had lately met, in reading, with the account of a battle between two nations, in which almoſt all the combatants on both ſides were killed; and it was ſaid to be owing to this; that, though they had offenſive weapons on both ſides, they had none for defence. So, if, in this war of words, reproaches only are to be uſed, and nothing conciliatory, the battle muſt be eternal. If the atrocious conduct of the French was to be noticed, muſt we not alſo refer to the atrocities of our Allies? The three powers which confederated againſt Poland, and annihilated that independent people, were all our Allies for this war of ſocial order! and if Buonaparté was not to be treated with on account of the cruelties of his conduct, what ſhould we think of leaguing ourſelves with the general who committed the indiſcriminate horrors at Warſaw! that worthy man! "who exceeded the other in diſcipline as much as in virtue!" If their trampling on the weak powers was a crime, did it not alſo belong to ourſelves and to the Allies? was it not his relation, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, who was firſt commanded to invite the Swiſs to depart from their neutrality? The pretended Letter of Lord Hervey to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany had been denied, but he believed that

there was certain ground to believe, that he went into the Grand Duke's closet, laid his watch upon the table, and peremptorily demanded, that he should, in a certain number of minutes, dismiss the French minister and French people! Lord Hervey was recalled; but was the principle recalled? did it not drive him into unwilling war? The conduct of Mr. Drake to Genoa was the same. The perfidy of the French to the Venetians was atrocious; but it had been justly asked, by his Honourable Friend, was not the receiver as bad as the thief? The conduct of Austria in this instance reminded him of the pretext for the slave trade: "I did not make this father of a family, this son, this brother, a slave; I bought him with my money: I did not entice him away, either for witchcraft or obie of any kind, but I have a *quid pro quo*." So the Emperor may say: "I bought these people in the way of trade; I delivered over half a million of human beings into slavery in another place: this is my indemnity!" And this, said Mr. Fox, ought to be one of the chief and most crying objections to this war: for in this horrible traffic in human flesh, white and black, there has been more of this scandal committed, and it leads to this diabolical outrage more than any other war that ever existed.

He then answered the argument, that France had roused all Europe against her by her crimes. Have you not (said he) then succeeded in rousing any part of Europe by your money, by your seductions? it argues but little for your address if you have not; but, I dare say, the truth lies between you: between their crimes and your money the rage has been excited. Did France assail Russia? has the magnanimous Paul taken the field for the maintenance of religion and

ſocial order on account of perſonal outrage? He has declared himſelf Grand Maſter of Malta, notwithſtanding his religion is as oppoſite as ours to the faith of the Knights: and what is his conduct to Denmark and to Spain? He then animadverted on the different attempts at negociation which had been made in 1796 and 1797, and particularly reaſoned on Mr. Pitt's aſſertion, that he apprehended danger from the ſucceſs of the negociation, but it was the unequivocal opinion of the people of England, at that time, that they ought to treat. I thought ſo (ſaid Mr. Fox) but it was denied; it is now fairly acknowledged. It was then imputed to r , that I did not ſpeak the ſenſe of the people; it now turns out that I did: and I ſpeak it now, when I ſay that you ought equally to treat at this time. He put this into various ſtrong points of view, and ſaid, the vigour they produced by that meaſure ought to convince them, that they could only rouſe the ſpirit of the people by ſhewing an anxiety for peace. But miniſters ſaid they had not refuſed diſcuſſion: they had put a caſe, the reſtoration of the Houſe of Bourbon. He was not a man to bear heavy on unfortunate princes, but he could not recollect the hiſtory of this country and wiſh for their return to power. An honourable Gentleman (Mr. Canning) had alluded to what had fallen from a noble Duke, in another place, reſpecting the publication of the intercepted letters. He had ſpoken of a perſon of the fineſt underſtanding, and of a moſt honourable perſon, in terms which ſhewed himſelf poſſeſſed of an intellect, which he would excuſe him if he ſhould not notice any thing that fell from him. The noble Duke did not object to the publication but to the manner; as, in the introduction and notes to thoſe intercepted let-

ters there was a ribaldry which could not be endured by any feeling mind, on account of its exceſſive ſtupidity. He had accuſed the noble Duke for ſaying that the preſent ſcarcity was owing to the war; if the noble Duke had ſaid ſo he would be juſtified, when it was recollected that grain was ſold at this time in France at leſs than one half the price which it bears here! a circumſtance which ſhews, that, were it not for the war, we ſhould have a ſupply of it in our markets. This new mode of anſwering in this Houſe obſervations made in another was rather odd, conſidering the phalanx they had there. But, indeed, even this Honourable Gentleman might be ſent there with as much propriety as others they had ſo honoured.

He then came to the argument of Mr. Pitt, that he had negociated in the year 1797 becauſe he wiſhed to gain the people to a more vigorous ſyſtem of finance, which could only proſper by their unanimity: having, then, gained his end, it was no longer neceſſary for him to pretend to negociate. He might be honeſt in his views of getting his ſyſtem advanced and honeſt in thinking that ſucceſs in the negociation would have been dangerous; but he was not quite honeſt to the country in the means he had thus taken to obtain their conſent. He came then to the poſition of Mr. Pitt, that, though they had declared that the reſtoration of monarchy would be the beſt ſecurity, there were four other predicaments in which they would think it right to treat with Buonaparté: 1. If he ſhould conduct himſelf ſo as to ſhew that he had abandoned the principles which were objectionable. 2. If the people of France ſhould ſhew a diſpoſition to acquieſce in his power more than they now expected. 3. If the armies of the Allies ſhould be leſs ſucceſsful

than was looked for: and, 4. If the preſſure of the war ſhould be heavier upon us than it was convenient to continue to bear: on the fallacy and weakneſs of which poſſible caſes he reaſoned at length.

Suppoſe miniſters were now inclined to purſue the ſame line of conduct which they adopted in 1796 and 1797; ſuppoſe they were now again diſpoſed to enter into negociation; I would aſk the Houſe, I would aſk each individual member who compoſed it, whether, if the conduct of miniſters were the very contrary of what it now is, and that they had given a different anſwer to the overtures of the enemy, that anſwer would be reprobated by the Houſe? would the Houſe treat their willingneſs to liſten to theſe overtures as raſh and precipitate? on the contrary, would they not thank them for it, as conſulting the intereſts, and acquieſcing in the wiſhes of the people? So confident am I that a pacific diſpoſition on the part of miniſters would meet the general approbation of the Houſe, that I would aſk on the preſent queſtion only the votes of thoſe, who, if the anſwer brought down by miniſters was of a pacific tendency, would have cheerfully voted for it, and certain I am that I ſhould then have a greater majority on my ſide than I have ever been honoured with in this Houſe. Yes, Sir, if the language of miniſters breathed a ſpirit of peace on the preſent occaſion, your benches would reſound with rejoicings, and with praiſes of a meaſure that was likely to reſtore the bleſſings of tranquillity. There might be a few perſons preſent, who, perhaps, would not vote with me on that occaſion: of this, however, there might be ſome reaſon to doubt. But there was a noble lord in the other Houſe (Lord Fitzwilliam)

whoſe conſiſtency of character and principle would not allow him to vote for an addreſs different from that now propoſed. Of that noble lord's diſpoſition I think, however, as highly as any man, though I differ from him in politics.

Mr. Fox then proceeded to cenſure the manner in which the ſpeech of the Right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) endeavoured to inflame the paſſions of the Houſe, by the picture he drew of the internal ſtate of France, and by the acrimonious invectives with which he aſſailed the character of General Buonaparté. He muſt deprecate, he ſaid, ſuch invectives, though he was as far as any man from endeavouring to defend the conduct or the principles of the French Conſul. He was not ſufficiently in poſſeſſion of the neceſſary grounds on which to form a juſt opinion of that extraordinary man. Buonaparté on his arrival found France in an unſettled ſtate; he thought it neceſſary to reform her government, and he reformed it in the manner in which moſt military men would be inclined to do, by aſſuming the whole of the power to himſelf. Much indignation was expreſſed at the military deſpotiſm exerciſed by Buonaparté. How that Houſe ſhould be ſo violently indignant at the exerciſe of military deſpotiſm he was at a loſs to conceive; was it not the ſyſtem lately, and ſtill purſued, in the ſiſter kingdom? there it was in the power of Government to declare martial law, by which the perſons and the property of the inhabitants were left at the mercy of military commanders. This was the way in which the free unbiaſſed ſenſe of the people was to be taken reſpecting the propoſed legiſlative Union! Thoſe, ſurely, who aſſented to ſuch a mode of collect-

ing the ſenſe of the nation ſhould not be very loud in their railings againſt military deſpotiſm.—But it was objected to Buonaparté, that he ſwore to maintain that very conſtitution which he had lately deſtroyed. It would be good, perhaps, to lay aſide all ſuch oaths; there were thoſe whoſe overheated zeal for monarchy had induced to ſtigmatize as traitors and rebels who ſpoke and acted againſt Charles II. But though they had taken the oath of allegiance it was not ſuppoſed that the country was perjured on account of their conduct. Was the Earl of Devonſhire perjured on account of the part he took in that reign becauſe he had taken the oath of allegiance to the Houſe of Stuart? would France now perjure herſelf if her inhabitants conſented to the reſtoration of the Houſe of Bourbon?

After the concluſion of the treaty of Campo Formio, it is ſaid, that ſome confidential officer of Buonaparté aſſerted it to be that general's opinion, that the French Republic and the Government of Great Britain could not exiſt together—it was not certain whether any ſuch aſſertion had ever been made; but, ſuppoſe it had, was it not ſtrange that we could never put ourſelves in the place of the enemy? How might they not interpret many of the ſpeeches delivered in both houſes of Parliament, and even ſome of thoſe put in the mouth of his Majeſty himſelf! might not they find in many of theſe ſpeeches pretty broad aſſertions that the exiſtence of the French Republic was incompatible with that of the Engiſh conſtitution? Are then theſe pretences for mutual recrimination and animoſity eternally to be reciprocated? as long as we are ſucceſsful are we to continue to urge the crimes and iniquities of

the French Revolution as a barrier to all pacification? and, as often as we are unfortunate and defeated, are we then only to attempt negociation? Would not this lead to an interminable war? would not such a conduct fly in the face of all our old prejudices, and make us regard warfare as a natural state, and peace only a state of doubt, suspicion, and distrust? Did the different treaties concluded with Louis XIV. tend to render that monarch less ambitious? at the time of these treaties we spoke as freely and as harshly of the unprincipled ambition of that tyrant as we now speak of that of Buonaparté. And what was the security which we derived from these treaties against the projects of aggression and aggrandizement entertained and acted upon by that aspiring monarch? what security did we even obtain for the ambitious views of the French court by the peace concluded in 1783, in which the Right honorable Gentleman bore himself a part? did not the French court, shortly after that treaty, endeavour to concert, with the Dutch Republic, the means of attacking our India possessions, in the same manner as Buonaparté has lately meditated their destruction? After the conclusion of that peace the administration who concluded it went out; and he, among other gentlemen, came into office. Suppose he had refused to sign that treaty, when, upon examination, he found that France was acting a perfidious part, and was actually in treaty to commence a fresh attack upon the British dominions at the time the treaty alluded to was signed; would the Right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) support him in that refusal? surely. Yet the same arguments would justify him in withholding his approbation, that the Right ho-

norable Gentleman now urges in justification of his own refusal to enter into negociation. But it is not, we are told, the interest of Buonaparté sincerely to negociate, or, if he negociates and concludes a treaty, it is not his interest to observe it. The return of peace would not be friendly to his military despotism. What! had not Augustus Cæsar established a military despotism which lasted 600 years, and, though half of the Roman Emperors were murdered, did not the military despotism survive? If history was consulted, would it not be found that the despots changed, but that the despotism continued unimpaired? If Buonaparté disappeared from the scene to make room for a Berthier, what difference would there be produced in our situation? might we not as safely treat with the one or the other, as with a Louis XVI. XVII. or XVIII? It was wrong to look too narrowly into the character of individuals in power with whom we may be obliged to treat. However, it might be asserted to the contrary, it was evidently the interest of Buonaparté to make peace; a lover, as that general unquestionably was of military glory, yet he must be sensible that the splendour of his former triumphs must be tarnished by defeat; he could no longer depend upon his own fortune or his own abilities for the continuance of his victorious career: he would be under the necessity of employing other generals, whose misconduct or incapacity might compromise and endanger his power; besides, he must be sensible that France required a respite, a breathing interval, to close and heal her wounds, and to re-create her exhausted strength—to procure her this respite would be a work of more

real and durable glory than he could derive from the proudeſt triumphs which he has as yet achieved, and this object Buonaparté might well be conceived to have anxiouſly at heart, however different might be the opinion of gentlemen on this particular; nor ſhould the aſperſions now thrown upon his character induce a belief that he was otherwiſe inclined.

On this occaſion, Mr. Fox ſaid, he could not but dwell a moment on a great and venerable character lately deceaſed;—on that great man (General Waſhington) it was not in his power to beſtow any thing like adequate praiſe; but, however highly he might now ſpeak of him, his praiſe could not be ſuppoſed to flow from an extravagant lover of liberty, or a hater of ſocial order. The Houſe muſt acknowledge that the character he was now contemplating was a truly great and good man; yet the Right honourable Gentleman who opened the preſent queſtion muſt remember in what terms that illuſtrious character had often been traduced in that Houſe, and how any gentleman who ſpoke favourably of an American was ſtigmatized as an enemy to his country. The Right Honorable Secretary had expreſſed a wiſh that no example ſhould be permitted to exiſt of a Republic eſtabliſhed like that of France. He hoped, however, that the American revolution would not be held out as a bad example: if ſo, all our old prejudices in favour of liberty were gone—it would not at leaſt, be held in that light by thoſe who thought of the American revolution as he did, and who felt and did ſtill feel that it was highly beneficial to the cauſe of freedom and good order. Does the American government perſiſt in provoking hoſtilities with France, or does it refuſe

to negociate? no, it makes no war for abſurd theories: yet we are told that no attention ſhould be paid to the conduct of America; but that we ſhould refuſe to negociate becauſe it were ſetting a bad example that Buonaparté ſhould be permitted to draw ſuch a prize as that of obtaining deſpotic power in France from the wheel of the revolution. Was not this warring for the ſake of a wild theory which was directly oppoſite to all the practical and preſſing arguments of our ſituation? An honourable friend of his was much cenſured for the opinion he expreſſed reſpecting the change of property which muſt accompany the reſtoration of monarchy: he was one of thoſe who coincided in that opinion, and who could oppoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of the Emigrants in their property, becauſe ſuch a recovery of property would go to diveſt a greater number than that of thoſe whom it would reinſtate: He admitted that they had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of it; but to do them juſtice now in reſtoring it were impracticable, ſo widely and minutely was that property now diffuſed.

Mr. Fox next alluded to a proclamation iſſued by Louis XVIII. in which that prince pretended that he ſhould be reſtored with all the powers that formerly belonged to his family; what thoſe powers were it was not neceſſary to ſay: but would not the emigrant nobility obſerve, "Shall the king be reſtored to all his prerogatives and we not be re-inſtated in all our property?" The ſcene that would enſue from the accompliſhment of their wiſhes it were eaſier for gentlemen to conceive than for him to deſcribe. But there was one point which called for the peculiar attention of the Houſe: we are, it ſeems, to make common cauſe with the Houſe of Bourbon, and to fight to

the laſt extremity for their reſtoration. This, ſurely, was the ſcheme of a madman; the language which our conduct ſpoke evinced it. We threatened, if ſucceſsful, to excite the whole country of France againſt Buonaparté and to overturn the preſent French government; but, ſhould our attempts fail of ſucceſs, then would we conſent to negociate. On what our hopes of ſucceſs were founded he might be able to ſee as clearly as thoſe gentlemen who ſo ſanguinely perſiſted in them. But it might be obſerved that the ſucceſs of was proverbially variable and inconſtant; and though the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign was aſſerted to be unexampled, yet the campaign of the enemy, but two years before, was equally ſucceſsful, though their victories were not exactly achieved in the ſame ſpace of time. Mr. Fox proceeded to draw a moſt animated picture of the horrors and murders perpetrated at Naples, which was ſaid to be delivered: there, if he was rightly informed, the very fleſh of their victims was devoured by the friends of ſocial order and morality! and in no inſtance was the treaty obſerved which promiſed ſafety and ſecurity of property to what were called the patriots: as this treaty is ſaid to have been ſigned and guaranteed by a Britiſh officer he hoped and truſted it would be particularly inquired into, and that this foul ſtain ſhould be waſhed away from the Britiſh name; a ſtain that in blackneſs could rival any that reſulted from the atrocities of the French revolution. When were theſe horrors to ceaſe? were they to be aſcribed to ambition, to the luſt of power? to a ſpirit of aſpiring domination? no; theſe motives were of angelic hue when compared with thoſe which inſtigated thoſe horrors: they were thoſe of revenge, hatred, animoſity, and rancour, and of every fell paſ-

ſion that leads to the extinction of all civilization and humanity: are they not to be checked in their deſolating progreſs till the Bourbons are reſtored? We had before boaſted of ſucceſsful campaigns: we were repeatedly told of the capture of Valenciennes Quesnoy, Conde, &c. &c. which prepared ſome gentlemen for a march to Paris. But ſtill more ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs were now conceived than at that period: where, then was the expectation of peace; ſince ſucceſs leads only to war, the war may now be expected to be endleſs! Good God! what a lamentable proſpect was this for the country! for a mere ſpeculation, or a raſh experiment, we are to perſiſt in ſpilling the blood, in exhauſting the treaſure of the country, and in ſwelling the black catalogue of human miſeries; and all this that we may pauſe! and for what? merely, that we may better aſcertain the character of an individual or the probable ſtability of his power; for this are all the horrors of human carnage to be protracted! What difference between a battle of the preſent day and the battle of Blenheim, for example? we then ſee that we bravely fought to curb the ambition of Louis XIV: but if it be now inquired, why men expire and ſpread deſolation around them, like that ſpread through the Palatinate by that vain ambitious monarch; it is, not becauſe we are angry, but merely to pauſe and pauſe in war, not in peace, in order to ſee whether we may not meet with a better than Buonaparté to negotiate with! That individual profeſſes a deſire of peace; you refuſe to ſound the ſincerity of his profeſſions, while you ſecretly entertain a reſolution to carry on the war, too odious, too determined, and too ruinous to be openly

avowed. Yet you fued, or, at leaſt, fought for peace in 1796, becauſe the people expreſſed an anxiety for the return of peace: are they not now as anxious as ſolicitous as they were then? moſt certainly they are: but ſuch have been the alterations made in the conſtitution, that no means are left them for manifeſting that anxiety and ſolicitude. Formerly miniſters crouched before the will of the nation, now they pay not the leaſt deference to the voice of public opinion. Mr. Fox concluded by repeating his wiſh, that thoſe who would have voted for the Addreſs, in caſe miniſters had accepted the overtures of the enemy, would now vote in reprobating the rejection of them; and that thoſe only would vote for the preſent Addreſs who would have oppoſed that which recommended immeate negociation.

The queſtion being now loudly called for, the Houſe divided; for the Addreſs 265, againſt it 64; majority 201.

The ſtrong and marked deciſion of the cabinet of St James's attached the court of Vienna as firmly as ever to the common cauſe; but the German Empire became daily leſs and leſs convinced of the neceſſity of continuing the war, and the government received nothing in the ſhape of voluntary aid. Buonaparté ſaw in this laxity a favourable ſymptom for his object, and he continued to correſpond with the Archduke on the ſubject of peace, ſending his aid-decamp to the head-quarters of the prince, becauſe he was prohibited from proceeding to Vienna. The arrival of General Kray, on the 16th of February, at Donauſchingen, to ſucceed the Archduke in the command of the army, made the hopes of peace evaniſh like the morning cloud.

The French government having been defeated in its attempts to procure peace, was compelled to seek it at the mouth of the cannon. The determination of the Combined Powers to profecute the war was communicated to the Legiſlative Body on the 7th of March. The Addreſs, containing evident proofs of indignation againſt Britain, was conceived in the following terms:

"Frenchmen! you have been anxious for peace; your government has deſired it with ſtill greater ardour: its firſt ſteps, its moſt conſtant wiſhes, have been for its attainment. The Engliſh miniſtry has betrayed the ſecret of its horrible policy: to diſmember France, deſtroy its marine and its ports, ſtrike it out from the chart of Europe, or lower it to the rank of ſecondary powers; to keep every nation on the continent divided from each other, in order to gain poſſeſſion of the trade of the whole and enrich itſelf with their ſpoils; to obtain this horrible triumph it is that England ſcatters its gold, becomes prodigal of its promiſes, and multiplies its intrigues."

Whatever truth there might be in the allegation on either ſide, it is certain that, from this period, the war was a mere perſonal conteſt; and, if it be true that the Allies took no very lively intereſt in the reeſtabliſhment of the Bourbons, it will be a queſtion, whether the mere deſire of embarraſſing an individual was not too frivolous a motive for hazarding the further effuſion of blood.

CHAPTER X.

Buonaparté endeavours to conciliate Neutral Powers.—A Union between Great Britain and Ireland effected.—A new Force, to be called the Army of Reserve.—Ordered to assemble at Dijon, by Buonaparté.—Death of Championnet.—Massena appointed to succeed him in the Command.—Distresses of the Army of Genoa increased by the Vigilance of the British Fleet.—Vigorous Efforts of the Allies to get Possession of the City.

ENGLAND and France were now, more clearly than ever, the principals in the war, and each exerted all its efforts to strengthen itself, and to multiply its resources. On receiving intelligence of the death of General Washington, Buonaparté made an effort to conciliate America, by a well-timed compliment, in ordering all the colours and officers of the Republic to mount black crape for ten days. Such of the European powers as had persevered in a state of neutrality, were also considered as worthy of being conciliated, from political motives.

In a particular manner, the First Consul was attentive to the King of Prussia, whom neither the prayers nor threatenings of the Combined Powers could turn aside from his inflexible apathy. He had continued neutral during the existence of the Directorial government, and, therefore, it was not to be expected that the mildness and moderation of the Consular authority would alter his resolution. But Buonaparté left nothing unattempted to induce the court of Berlin to espouse the cause of the Republic against the Coalition, as the most likely mean of

terminating the war. The King of Pruſſia, however, would not abandon the line of conduct he had hitherto purſued.

The new French ambaſſador Bournonville, was kindly received at the court of Berlin, and the Chief Conſul, through the medium of this miniſter, had the fulleſt aſſurances of neutrality on the part of Pruſſia. The example of the King was followed by the Elector of Saxony. It was in vain the Imperial Cabinet ſolicited his co-operation; the late revolution in France had determined his choice. Sweden alſo began to evince more friendly diſpoſitions towards the Republic, and the neutrality of Denmark was confirmed by the example of Pruſſia.

Great Britain had laboured as ſucceſsfully in the work of the Union with Ireland, and that meaſure was ſo far concluded on the 5th of February, that 153 members againſt 115, in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, forming a majority of 38, voted in its favour; the diviſion in the Houſe of Lords was 75 againſt 26. The details occupied the Legiſlatures of both countries till the 1ſt of Auguſt, when the Lord Lieutenant aſſembled both Houſes of the Iriſh Parliament, and diſſolved them for ever, by the following Addreſs:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The whole buſineſs of this important Seſſion being, at length, happily concluded, it is with the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction that I communicate to you, by his Majeſty's expreſs command, his warmeſt acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unſhaken perſeverance which you have ſo conſpicuouſly manifeſted in maturing and completing the great meaſure of a legiſlative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain.—The proofs you have given on this occaſion, of your uniform attachment to the real wel-

fare of your country, inſeparably connected with the ſecurity and proſperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your ſovereign, and the applauſe of your fellow-ſubjects, but muſt afford you the ſureſt claim to the gratitude of poſterity.—You will, regret with his Majeſty, the reverſe which his Majeſty's Allies have experienced on the continent; but his Majeſty is perſuaded that the firmneſs and public ſpirit of his ſubjects will enable him to perſevere in that line of conduct, which will beſt provide for the honour and the eſſential intereſts of his dominions, whoſe means and reſources have now, by your wiſdom, been more cloſely and intimately combined."

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I am to thank you, in his Majeſty's name, for the liberal ſupplies which you have cheerfully granted for the various and important branches of the public ſervice in the preſent year. His Majeſty has alſo witneſſed with pleaſure that wiſe liberality which will enable him to make a juſt and equitable retribution to thoſe bodies and individuals, whoſe privileges and intereſts are affected by the Union; and he has ſeen with ſatisfaction that attention to the internal proſperity of this country, which has been ſo conſpicuouſly teſtified by the encouragement you have given to the improvement and extenſion of its inland navigation."

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have the happineſs to acquaint you that the country in general has, in a great meaſure, returned to its former ſtate of tranquillity. If in ſome diſtricts a ſpirit of plunder and diſaffection ſtill exiſts, theſe diſorders, I believe, will prove to be merely local, and will, I doubt not, be ſoon effectually terminated. The preſſure of ſcarcity on the poorer claſſes, though much relieved by private generoſity, and by the ſalutary proviſions of the legiſlature, has been long and unuſually ſevere; but, I truſt, that under the favour of Providence, we may draw a pleaſing

proſpect of future plenty from the preſent appearance of the harveſt. I am perſuaded, that the great meaſure which is now accompliſhed, could never have been effected but by a decided conviction on your part, that it would tend to reſtore and preſerve the tranquillity of this country, to increaſe its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connexion with Great Britain, and augment the reſources of the Empire. You will not fail to impreſs theſe ſentiments on the minds of your fellow-ſubjects—you will encourage and improve that juſt confidence which they have manifeſted in the reſult of your deliberations on this ardent queſtion. Above all, you will be ſtudious to inculcate the full conviction, that, united with the people of Great Britain into one kingdom, governed by the ſame Sovereign, protected by the ſame laws, and repreſented in the ſame legiſlature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a ſpirit of induſtry and order, to enſure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of proſperity, ſecurity, and freedom, than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation. I cannot conclude without offering to you and to the nation at large, my perſonal congratulations on the accompliſhment of this great work, which has received the ſanction and concurrence of our Sovereign, on the anniverſary of that auſpicious day which placed his illuſtrious family on the throne of theſe realms. The Empire, is now, through your exertions, ſo completely united, and by union ſo ſtrengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies can make, either to weaken it by diviſions, or to overturn it by force. Under the protection of the Divine Providence, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, will, I truſt, remain in all future ages the faireſt monument of his Majeſty's reign, already diſtinguiſhed by ſo many and ſuch various bleſſings conferred upon every claſs and deſcription of his ſubjects."

The attempts of the French government to procure the bleſſings of peace having proved unſucceſs-

ful, the moſt vigorous efforts were made for opening another campaign. An army of reſerve, to conſiſt of 60,000 men, were to be aſſembled at Dijon, the city which was to conſtitute the general rendezvous for the military operations of the armies both of Italy and Germany, on account of its centrical ſituation. Every claſs of men in the Republic entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of being able to dictate a peace at the point of the bayonet; and many, who had been diſſatisfied with the Conſular government, now came forward with a hearty tender of their ſervices. Numbers flocked to the ſtandard of Buonaparté, without ſolicitation, and provided themſelves with martial implements at their own expènſe. The chief command of this army was at firſt conferred on Berthier, who had been Miniſter of War ſince the 18th Brumaire. His ſucceſſor, in this laſt office, was Carnot, the ex-director, whom the Conſul had found it his intereſt to recal, and who had always conducted himſelf by the dictates of an intelligent and diſintereſted mind.

The preceding campaign in Italy terminated with the capture of Coni, and the death of Championnet, who, it is thought, Buonaparté diſliked, and the retreat of the French army into the territory of Genoa, the only place of any conſequence in Italy which they could now boaſt of. So intereſting was this place conſidered by the Combined Powers, that they ſeemed to attach the whole glory of the campaign to the wreſting of it from the hands of the Republicans. A little attention will convince us that this anxiety was not ſurpriſing, for, whilſt the French were maſters of Genoa, they could, with the greateſt eaſe, give aſſiſtance to their army in Switzerland, and

ſecure a paſſage into Italy by the defiles of Upper Piedmont.

Upon the death of Championnet Maſſena was appointed commander in chief of the army, which he found reduced to a melancholy ſituation, dragging out the remains of a ſevere winter on the frozen ſummits of the Appenines. The ravages of war had reduced this army to one half of its original number, and nearly diſſolved it by famine and diſeaſe, in a great meaſure owing to the ſyſtem of robbery and plunder which characterized the adminiſtration of Scherer. The military cheſts and magazines were empty, while the exertions of the chief officers were ſuch as to evince their incapacity to afford any material relief. No pay had been received for ſeven months, and the number of deſerters became prodigious, in order, if poſſible, to eſcape the jaws of death, by ſeeking relief in ſome more hoſpitable clime. Nearly 30,000 men periſhed in the territory of Genoa by diſeaſe and famine, without having to face a ſingle enemy. This army, therefore, of which Maſſena aſſumed the command, had almoſt to be created anew; and, for this reaſon, the moſt unlimited powers were conferred upon him by the Conſuls, both military, political, adminiſtrative, and financial. Nor was this diſorder confined to the army of Genoa, for the troops in the Southern parts of France, in the countries contiguous to the Rhine, were nearly in the ſame condition; and, even in the heart of the Republic, ſoldiers were forced to ſubſiſt on arbitrary requiſitions, extorted from the people, for want of clothing and pay.

Before Maſſena arrived at Nice he had organized

a conſiderable army, from the meaſures he put in execution by the way. He endeavoured to bring different battalions back to their colours; one whole diviſion, which had deſerted their poſts, from inſupportable miſery, having returned to France in ſearch of pay, clothing, and food. He was finally ſucceſsful, by a judicious diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments, in prevailing with them to unite themſelves again to their reſpective ſtandards.

The evils already mentioned raged at Genoa, and its vicinity, with redoubled fury. The military were become real objects of pity to the very people, who, but a ſhort time before, both feared and reſpected them. The higher claſſes of the community, who conſidered the French as the plunderers of their country, the deſtroyers of their rank and political importance, were inwardly delighted with their wretchedneſs, and ſecretly aſſiſted in every meaſure which could be ſuppoſed calculated to compel them to evacuate the country. The Auſtrians, in the mean time, enjoyed abundant communication with Genoa, by means of Italian refugees, by the connivance of the Genoeſe general, Aſſaretto, and alſo by the Republican ſoldiers themſelves, who were ſometimes tempted to ſell their *conſigne*, for the purpoſe of procuring bread!

Maſſena had been promiſed 60,000 men, but had the mortification to find himſelf at the head of no more than 24,000, after the moſt indefatigable exertions; which number he was obliged to extend between Mount Cenis, and the frontiers of Tuſcany, a diſtance of more than 230 miles. He kept it no ſecret from the Government of France, that the

danger was imminent which awaited it from this quarter, and that it would be impoſſible to ſave the Ligurian Republic ſhould he be ſeriouſly attacked. He diſmiſſed the whole of the generals, not from any perſonal animoſity, or a conviction that they were not qualified to diſcharge their duty, but becauſe the army could not have ſeparated ſuch men from the idea of the defeats they had formerly experienced under their command. A portion of their pay was given to the troops, and ſome clothing, particularly ſhoes, an article of which the army ſtood eminently in need, as ſcarcely a ſingle pair was to be found among them. Having perceived theſe exertions to ameliorate their ſituation, the ſoldiers became more ſubmiſſive and obedient, and ready to engage the enemy whenever it ſhould be required. But, formidable as the Auſtrians were in this quarter, Maſſena ſoon found that they were not the only enemy with which he had to contend: the people in the Eaſtern territory of Genoa had been in a ſtate of inſurrection for ſome months before this period, and the diſorders among the troops were urged as a pretext for this hoſtile deportment, although no pretext was neceſſary to the Italians, when they ſaw the French retreating beforce a force ſo vaſtly ſuperior.

While the Republicans found themſelves unable to ſuppreſs the inſurrection in the Eaſt they were alarmed at the rapid advances of a ſimilar diſpoſition in the Weſt. Maſſena, therefore, left the care of the city to the national guard, and iſſued a number of manifeſtoes, which the rebels viewed with contempt: he ſent the firſt diviſion of his army to reduce them; it ſucceeded in checking the progreſs of the

rebellion, but did not find it practicable to make them return to obedience, and few of the plans, which Maſſena judiciouſly deviſed, were ſucceſsfully executed. Corn had been purchaſed by him at Marſeilles, but only a part of it reached his army, owing to the veſſels employed to convey it being captured by the Engliſh: this rendered it neceſſary to reduce the troops to what is denominated *ſhort allowance*, each man having no more than two ounces of bread per day! Relief by ſea had been prevented from arriving on account of contrary winds, and the harbour was, at length, blocked up by the Britiſh fleet. In ſuch a predicament, the Republican general was reduced to a choice of evils; either to be blockaded in Genoa, which was deſtitute of proviſions, and would, therefore, ſoon fall a prey to famine, or enter the field of battle againſt an army to which his own bore no proportion. The Ligurian Republic was incapable of affording him any relief; and, indeed, it would have been eaſier to raiſe a new army than place that of Genoa in a ſituation either of attack or defence, all circumſtances conſidered.

The ſtate of the French army rendered that of the Auſtrians perfectly ſecure during the winter, which was, conſequently, confined to a ſtate of obſervation, arranged through Lombardy, the Venetian ſtates, Piedmont, and different parts of the Roman territory. In ſuch a divided ſituation the Auſtrians did not appear to be in readineſs for opening the campaign, although they could procure with facility every thing requiſite for immediate hoſtilities. The French were perſuaded that the Auſtrians would not be in a ſituation for entering the field of battle at the very time when the different diviſions of the

Auſtrian army were rapidly advancing to commence hoſtilities. The Britiſh forces, under Lord Keith, menaced the ſea-coaſts, and conſternation ſeized on the Republicans, while they could not help admiring the ſecrecy with which Melas collected, in a few days, 10,000 men before Bobbio, as many before Tortona, 30,000 before Acqui and Alexandria, by which he was qualified to leave all his cavalry in Piedmont, beſides a numerous artillery, and 20,000 infantry. The Republican army was only 17,620 ſtrong, even comprehending in that number the troops who garriſoned Genoa, Gavi, and Novi, and who were obliged to occupy a line of ſixty miles in extent.

The appearance of the Britiſh fleet before Genoa had been the preconcerted ſignal for the commencement of hoſtilities, and the communication of the French by ſea was now totally cut off. Prior to this period a quantity of wheat entered the port of Genoa, which prevented the city from requeſting an immediate capitulation. Next day 20,000 Auſtrians marched from Acqui to Savona, where the Republicans had no more than 3,000 men, who made a vigorous, though unavailing, oppoſition, being obliged to fall back on Cadibona, of which the Auſtrians likewiſe gained poſſeſſion, and threatened to cut off the communication of the Genoeſe army with France. This diviſion of the Republicans was ſaved from ruin by the aſtoniſhing exertions of General Soult, who headed the centre. The Auſtrians entered the ſuburbs of Savona, when the French evacuated the town, and effected their retreat towards Albi, forty-three miles North-north-weſt of the former.

While the Auſtrians on the Weſt of Genoa were engaged in cutting off the communication of the Republicans with France, the Eaſtern diviſion gained poſſeſſion of Montefaccio: within ſight of the town, they kindled fires as a ſignal to the Inſurgents, who were further excited by the ſounding of the tocſin. They were, however, compelled to retreat by the attack of General Miolis, who purſued his advantage, and made 1,500 of them priſoners at Campinardigo, among whom was General Baron d'Aſpres. The chief benefit reſulting from this victory was the deſtroying a ſpirit of inſurrection in the people of Genoa.

The battle fought at Saſſelo on the 10th of April, between the French and Auſtrians, was extremely bloody, and the conteſt obſtinate on both ſides, but victory declared in favour of the latter, as the Republicans, from the difficulty of the country, found it impracticable to procure information and unite their forces, according to the injunctions of Maſſena, who narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner, together with three of his ſtaff. Soult availed himſelf of Maſſena's movement in his favour, and compelled the Auſtrians to fall back upon Tagliarino, eleven miles North-eaſt of Genoa, which poſition they were alſo forced to abandon, after having ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs. The French carried the mountain Hermetta, which ſeparated the two diviſions of their army, formed a junction, and the Auſtrians, in different conflicts, loſt about 4,000 men.

A diviſion of the French army was defeated by an inferior number of Imperialiſts, and driven from their poſt at Caſtelletto, twenty-nine miles North-eaſt

of Genoa, which was ſoon after re-captured by Maſſena, who inflicted on the deſerters from this ſtation what was deemed a puniſhment for their cowardice—they were to remain in garriſon at Genoa.

The partial victories acquired by the French over the enemy could not be viewed in the light of advantages, but rather of misfortunes, ſince they had no opportunities of recruiting their diminiſhing army, while their opponents could receive every thing they ſtood in need of with little trouble and no moleſtation. Genoa was, therefore, deſtined to ſurrender by the triumphant aſſaults of famine and diſeaſe, for which event the Auſtrians had only to wait with patience. The army of Maſſena, by the 21ſt of April, was reduced to 9,500 men, formed into two diviſions under Miolis and Garnier, which were to be oppoſed to an army four times as numerous; but a more dangerous enemy within the walls of the city—*famine*, rendered the ſituation of Maſſena truly deplorable.

During the firſt days of the ſiege of Genoa the priſoners captured by the Republicans were ſent back; but an apprehenſion that they might be employed in arms againſt the intereſt of France, and the refuſal of the Auſtrian commander to exchange them, induced the Republicans afterwards to retain them. But, as it was perilous to keep them in Genoa, Maſſena ſent them on board the veſſels that were lying in the harbour, humanely comprehending them in the liſt of the perſons who were ordered to receive proviſions from the Ligurian Republic. Humanity hears with horror the recital of the ſufferings theſe wretched beings endured, who converted their very knapſacks and ſhoes into food! The

government durſt not venture to ſend any perſon on board, leſt he ſhould have inſtantly been torn in pieces and devoured, to ſatisfy their raging appetites! Multitudes of them expired amidſt inexpreſſible miſery; while others plunged into the deep, and fought a watery grave, to terminate an intolerable exiſtence.

CHAPTER XI.

Formation of the Army of Reſerve.—Loan required of the Dutch.—Combined Powers Deſpiſe the Conſular Army.—Means adopted to preſerve the Diſcipline of the Army.—Carnot appointed Miniſter of War.—News from Egypt.—Arrival of General Deſaix.

TO repair theſe diſaſters, and to enable France to meet the dangers with which ſhe was threatened, occupied the principal attention of the Government. A new army was ordered to be aſſembled at Dijon, to be called The Army of Reſerve, under the command of General Berthier, to amount to 60,000 men; and all perſons were invited to accelerate its formation, upon the patriotic principle of revenge againſt England for refuſing to make peace. The military conſcription was enforced with unuſual rigour, and extenſive arrangements were made to increaſe the new army with a great number of volunteers. The utmoſt diligence and ſpirit was exerted in the departments, and ſtrong appeals to the paſſions ſucceeded in collecting vaſt numbers of cruſaders to the Conſular ſtandard, who were confirmed in their zeal by public proclamations.

The Author has to apologize to the public for thus introducing, out of its place, the Eleventh Chapter, which, during his abſence from town, was miſlaid by the Printer, and not obſerved to be wanting by the Gentleman who corrected the preſs.—The Binder will be careful to place this chapter after page 176.

The COMMANDER IN CHIEF *of the Organization of of the Corps of Volunteers of the Army of Reserve, to the Prefects.*

"Paris, March, 30.

"The First Consul has entrusted me with the honourable mission of organising the Volunteers, who, in each department, are to present themselves to answer the call which he has made upon all Frenchmen, and who, sharing under his eyes the dangers and the glory of this campaign, will assist him in acquiring peace by conquest.

"I congratulate myself, Citizen Prefect, on having to concur with you for an object so noble, so generous, so conducive to the happiness of our Country. I congratulate you that the first act of your Administration will be to repeat no longer the cries of war, but the accents of the truest patriotism.

"On calling to the common defence all those who, not having been called by law, or having already paid their debt (if it can be true that the debt can ever be paid towards one's country), can only be moved by the purest sentiments, you afford to the nation in the name of Government, and to Government in the name of the nation, a pledge of mutual security.

"The gifts so frequently offered, the sacrifices so generously made, the privations supported, the iniquitous extortions suffered by the men of property during the course of the revolution, have exhausted immense resources, but have not been able to dry up those which the real interest of the nation can re-produce—those which good faith, affection and confidence can create.

"It is a truth generally recognised by all well-disposed men, and felt by all Frenchmen, that the government fights for peace, and not to re-kindle and keep alive the flames of war. It is to terminate the revolution—to secure the repose of families, the civil existence, the real independence of Citizens; it is to realise their happiness, that the Chief Consul is again disposed to try the fate of battles.

General Dumas.

Pub. by M. Jones. June. 1807.

"Perhaps ſome of the principle cities in your department may have alſo given a good example; but if we may be permitted to preſume, from the emulation which the pariſian youth have manifeſted to repair to the camp of Dijon, I will venture to anſwer for it, the expectations of the Chief Conſul will not be deceived.

"I annex to this the inſtruction which I have received orders to publiſh, reſpecting the organiſation. I requeſt to be furniſhed with a return of the number of the different ſpecies of troops which you can furniſh to the camp at Dijon. As the Chief Conſul has directed me to organiſe myſelf the companies which are forming at Paris, I ſhall not repair to Dijon till that is accompliſhed; I requeſt, you, therefore, to addreſs your reply to me here, and I will announce to you when I ſhall receive orders to repair thither myſelf

"I ſhall punctually attend to my correſpondence with you, anxious to ſecond your zeal, happy to concur in the manifeſtation of public ſpirit, this union of civic efforts, for the laſt triumph of the national cauſe.

"Health and Fraternity,

(Signed) "DUMAS"

It was the embarraſſment of the finances that induced the Conſul to appeal to the voluntary zeal of the people; for, in his circumſtances, the good humour of the French was the moſt important and valuable treaſure he could poſſeſs. Nothing puts a people out of humour ſo much as contributions and taxes; he, therefore, turned his attention towards the Dutch, with whom leſs ceremony was neceſſary than he found occaſion for among his own ſubjects. General Marmont was diſpatched to Holland to negociate a loan of ten or twelve millions of livres from the municipality of Amſterdam, upon the guarantee of the new Conſul.

At the time this requiſition was made to the Dutch, the people of Holland were ſo heavily taxed, that, in

the province of Holland, the tax upon Income was 28 per cent. and the tax upon Capital 24½; but it will be ſeen, by the Letter of Buonaparté, that he offered them, as a compenſation for their enormous ſacrifices, the honour of aiding the ſiſter Republic againſt the common enemy.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

BUONAPARTE, *Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, to the Members of the Municipality of the City of Amſterdam.*

"Europe wiſhes for peace, and for three months the efforts of the republic have had no other object. The evils conſequent upon war have been ſuſtained but too long. The preſent year ſhould not terminate without giving relief to humanity, and ſome reſtoration to commerce. I have taken all the precautions which are neceſſary to render this campaign deciſive; but, in order to inſure this iſſue, I have occaſion for an extraordinary ſupply, in the firſt inſtance, of ten or twelve millions of livres; as in a common cauſe the efforts ought to be reciprocal, I addreſs myſelf to you, Citizens. I have ſent to you General Marmont, Counſellor of State, and I have charged him to preſent to you a plan, according to which the reimburſements of the advances made by the commerce and the inhabitants of Amſterdam to the French Government ſhall be ſecured in a manner the moſt firm. Knowing the good diſpoſitions which have always been manifeſted by the Citizens of Amſterdam and their Magiſtrates, I do not heſitate in a circumſtance ſo deciſive, to recur to their zeal. The moments are precious, and I think it my duty to addreſs to them, without any other intervention, propoſitions which, without injuring their individual intereſts, will aſſure to them a neceſſary and meritorious part in the advantages which are to be obtained. General Marmont will preſent to this effect the ſecurities, which they will know how to value, and of which I ſhall guarantee the execution.

"Receive, Citizens, the assurances of my most perfect consideration.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

General Marmont returned to Paris without accomplishing his mission; but the timidity of the merchants soon induced them to negociate, privately, the loan which the Municipality had refused to advance in a public capacity. The Consul got the money; but the cautious Dutchmen put him off, by their tardy movements, till the time when he would have been ready for a second loan, if they had advanced freely. Meantime the Allies treated the idea of raising an army at Dijon as a most miserable and contemptible artifice, to make a false display of resources, that the French government felt itself incapable of bringing into the field. Even the rashness of Buonaparté (which now seemed to be considered by many as the leading feature in the Consul's character) was thought yet tempered with too much prudence to venture crossing the Alps to lead an army into Piedmont; and it was, besides concluded, that, if he should be mad enough to make the attempt, there was no possibility of collecting the provisions and ammunition necessary for the expedition.

The camp, however, continued to form; and, though the conscripts and soldiers were openly told that the salvation of their country depended entirely upon them, the discipline of the army was not suffered to relax, under the mistaken notion of winning the goodwill of the soldiery. To restrain some disorders that were committed by some corps, an ordinance was published by the

WAR DEPARTMENT.

"The Conſuls of the republic being informed that the column of the Army of Reſerve under the command of General Chambarlhac, had committed exceſſes upon its route the Miniſter at War has diſpatched a commiſſary to inveſtigate the affair upon the ſpot, and to eſtimate the damage that has been done, in order to indemnify the proprietors who have ſuffered.

"It is the intention of the Miniſter at War that the ſtoppage made from the troops to pay this expence ſhall only affect thoſe who have been guilty of exceſs, and who have thus eſſentially failed in military diſcipline, as well as upon thoſe whoſe duty it was to have prevented ſuch miſconduct.

"He is perſuaded that the general maſs of the troops of the column had no ſhare in acts ſo unworthy of the defenders of their country, one of whoſe moſt reſpectable titles is that of defenders of property.

(Signed) "BREMOND, Sec. Gen. of War."

Upon the appointment of Berthier to the chief command of the Army of Reſerve, the Firſt Conſul prevailed upon the ex-director, Carnot, to accept the office of Miniſter of War; and that excellent tactician undertook the task with great alacrity, notwithſtanding the ill-treatment he had received from Buonaparté, ſubſequent to the revolution of the 18th Fructidor.

The appointment of Carnot ought to have prepared the Combined Powers for ſome very grand plan of operations; but they do not appear to have acted upon any ſuch perſuaſion. By the French Government every degree of energy was exerted: one ſoul animated the immenſe maſs that was in motion, from the banks of the Mediterranean to the borders of Heſſe; and every effort was exerted to combine their

united energies, ſo as to direct them all to the accompliſhment of one grand object.

Before any attempt was made to open the campaign, it was thought proper to let the generals meet to concert the plan of operations; and, accordingly, the Generals Moreau and Berthier met at Baſle, previous to their committing any act of hoſtility.

Both France and the Allies experienced ſome embarraſſment by the doubt that ſtill exiſted as to the part that the Emperor of Ruſſia would take. The Combined Powers would, evidently, be less able to oppoſe any new force that France would bring into the field, if left to themſelves, than if aſſiſted by ſuch a powerful auxiliary; and France would find her new levies, perhaps, far inferior to the enemy on her frontiers, if he ſhould happen to have his lines filled up by powerful hordes of Ruſſians.

Whilſt this ſeaſon of ſuſpenſe laſted, France was fortunate enough to receive intelligence from General Kleber, in Egypt, announcing the Convention that he had entered into with the Engliſh and Turkiſh Commanders, and which had ſtipulated, that he and his army ſhould return to France, upon the Treaty being ratified by the Porte and its Allies. The diſpatches were ſent by an advice-boat, that the French General was allowed to expedite to his Government; and it will be ſeen, by its being addreſſed to the Directory, that the news of Buonaparté's elevation had not reached the army of Egypt, when the Treaty was ſigned.

LETTER

From GENERAL KLEBER *to the* FRENCH DIRECTORY.

"Camp at Salahich, January 30.

"I have ſigned, Citizens Directors, the Treaty relative to the evacuation of Egypt, of which I now ſend you a copy: that which bears the ſignature of the Grand Vizier cannot come to my hand for ſome days, as the exchange was fixed to take place at El Ariſch.

"I have informed you, in my preceding diſpatches, of the ſituation of the army; I have alſo informed you of the negotiations which General Buonaparté had opened with the Grand Vizier, and which I was to continue. Though, at that period, I relied but little on the ſucceſs of thoſe negotiations, I entertained a hope that they would ſlacken the march of the Vizier, as well as his warlike preparations, that you might have time to ſend me ſuccours in men and arms, or to tranſmit your inſtructions as to the manner in which I ſhould conduct myſelf under ſuch painful circumſtances. I had founded my hope of ſuccour on the knowledge that the French and Spaniſh fleets were united at Toulon, and waited but for a favourable wind to ſail from that harbour: they did ſail, in fact, but it was to paſs the Straits and to re-enter the port of Breſt. This intelligence deeply afflicted the army, which, at the ſame time, was informed of our diſaſters in Italy, Germany, and Holland, and alſo in La Vendee, without the appearance of any meaſure being taken to avert the misfortunes which threatened even the exiſtence of the Republic.

"The Vizier was then advancing from Demas: on the other hand, in the middle of October, a fleet appeared before Damietta, which landed about 4,000 Janizaries, who were to be followed by an equal number: time, however, was not given for this, the firſt detachment being attacked and beaten in leſs than half an hour: the carnage was dreadful; we made but 800 priſoners! This event did not ſmooth the way to negotiation; the Vizier ſtill manifeſted the ſame intention, and did not ſlacken his march any more than was neceſſary to form his eſtabliſhments and to find

the neceſſary means of conveyance. His army was then eſtimated at 60,000 men; but other pachas followed him, and were recruiting new forces from all parts of Aſia as far as Mount Caucaſus: the advanced poſts of this army arrived ſhortly after at Jaffa.

"The Commodore, Sir Sidney Smith, wrote to me about this period; that is to ſay, ſome days before the landing at Damietta: and, as I knew his influence over the Grand Vizier, I thought it my duty not only to anſwer him, but to propoſe the veſſel which he commanded as the place of conference. I was equally unwilling to receive in Egypt any plenipotentiaries, whether Engliſh or Turkiſh, and to ſend mine to the camp of the latter. My propoſition was accepted, and from that time the negotiation took a more determined courſe: all this, however, did not retard the march of the Ottoman army, which the Vizier was marching towards Gaza. The war continued in the mean time in Upper Egypt; where the Beys, until then diſperſed, were about to reunite themſelves with Murad Bey; who, though always followed, but never completely ſubdued, had drawn into his party the Arabs and the inhabitants of the province of Beniſſourf, and never loſt an opportunity of haraſſing and keeping our troops in employ.

"The plague threatened us alſo with its ravages, and had carried off ſeveral men in each decade at Alexandria and other places. At length, on the 21ſt of December, General Deſaix and Citizen Pouſſielgue, whom I had named as plenipotentiaries, opened, on board the Tiger, their conferences with Sir Sidney Smith, to whom the Grand Vizier had given full powers to treat. They were to cruiſe off the coaſts of Alexandria and Damietta; but a violent gale obliged them to put to ſea, where they were detained for eighteen days, at the end of which term they were landed at the camp of the Vizier, who had advanced againſt the fort of El Ariſch, and obtained poſſeſſion of it on the 29th of December. He owed this ſucceſs to the marked cowardice of the garriſon, which, without fighting, ſurrendered on the ſeventh day of the attack: this circumſtance

was the more unfortunate, as General Reyneir was on his way to raiſe the blockade before the main body of the Turkiſh army could arrive. There was then no poſſibility of prolonging any further the negotiations, and it became neceſſary to weigh the danger which would attend their being broken off: to lay aſide all motives of perſonal vanity, and not to expoſe the lives of Frenchmen, entruſted to me, to the terrible conſequences, which a further delay would have rendered inevitable.

"The lateſt reports intimated, that the Ottoman army amounted to 80,000 men, and was about to be greatly augmented: there was under its ſtandard twelve pachas, of whom ſix were of the firſt rank. Forty-five thouſand men had appeared before El-Ariſch, who were provided with 50 pieces of cannon, and caiſſoons in proportion; this artillery was drawn by mules: 20 other pieces were at Gaza, with the corps de reſerve; the remainder of the troops were at Jaffa and in the environs of Ramile. A number of active coaſters ſupplied the army of the Vizier with proviſions: all the tribes of the Arabs eagerly ſeconded this army and had furniſhed it with more than 15,000 camels: this force was conducted by European officers, and five or ſix thouſand Ruſſians were daily expected. To this army I had to oppoſe 8,500 men, divided on the three points of Katich, Salahich, and Belbeys: this diviſion was neceſſary to facilitate our communications with Cairo and to give immediate ſuccour to that poſt which ſhould be firſt attacked. It was certain, however, that all theſe poſts could be either turned or avoided, as had been recently done by Elfi Bey, who, pending the negotiation, had entered, with his mamelouks into Charkie, to join with the Bills Arabs, and from thence to unite with Murad Bey in Upper Egypt. The reſt of our army was diſtributed as follows: 1,000 men were under the orders of General Verdier, to form the garriſon of Lesbe, to raiſe contributions in money and proviſions, and to hold in check the country between the canal of Achmoun and that of Moes, which was ſecretly agitated by the Cheik Leſkam: 1,800 men were un-

der the orders of General Lanuſſe, to form the garriſons of Roſetta, Aboukir, and Alexandria, to hold in check the Delta and Bahire: 1,200 remained at Cairo and Gaza, to furniſh eſcorts for the convoys of the army; and, finally, 2,500 men were ſcattered in Higher Egypt, along a line of more than 150 leagues in extent; theſe had daily to combat the Beys and their partiſans. The whole formed a body of about 15,000; and this was, at the higheſt, the whole of my force.

"Notwithſtanding this diſproportion I ſtill hoped for victory, and ſhould have hazarded a battle, if I had had any certainty of ſuccour before the time of debarkation: but this ſeaſon having once arrived, without my receiving any reinforcement, I was obliged to ſend 5,000 men, at leaſt, towards the coaſt. There then remained only 3,000 men to defend a country, open on every ſide, againſt the attack of at leaſt 30,000 horſemen, ſeconded by the Arabs and the inhabitants, without any one ſtrong place, without proviſions, without money, and without veſſels! At ſuch a criſis it was my duty to inquire what could be done for the preſervation of the army: there remained no means of ſafety, as there remained no poſſibility of treating, but arms in hand, with undiſciplined hordes of fanatical barbarians, who deſpiſed all the uſages of warfare. This was a fact evident to all, and it determined my opinion.—I gave orders to my plenipotentiaries, not to break off the negotiations, unleſs ſuch articles were propoſed as might commit our glory or our ſafety.

"I end this Report, Citizens Directors, by obſerving to you, that the circumſtances of my ſituation were not foreſeen in the inſtructions left with me by General Buonaparté. When he promiſed me a ſpeedy ſuccour, he reſted his hopes, as I did, on the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets in the Mediterranean: we were then far from thinking that theſe fleets were to return into the ocean; or, that the expedition to Egypt being completely abandoned, ſhould become a head of accuſation againſt thoſe by whom it had been decreed.

"I join to this Letter copies of my correſpondence with the Grand Vizier, Sir Sidney Smith, and my plenipotentiaries, as alſo all the official Notes on either ſide. I ſubjoin alſo a copy of the Report which was made reſpecting the capture of El-Ariſch.

"The French army, in fine, during its ſtay in Egypt, has engraven in the recollection of the natives the memory of its victories, of the equity and moderation with which we governed them, and the ſentiment of the force and power of the nation, of which this army makes a part. The French name will long be reſpected, not only in this province of the Ottoman Empire, but in every part of the Eaſt.

"I reckon on being in France, with the army, by the middle of June, at the lateſt.

"Health and reſpect,

(Signed) "KLEBER."

CONVENTION

On the Evacuation of Egypt, between GENERAL DESAIX *and* CITIZEN POUSSIELGUE, *Adminiſtrator of the Finances, on the one Part; and their Excellencies* MUSTAPHA RASCHID EFFENDI, *and* MUSTAPHA RATSICHE, *Plenipotentiaries of the* GRAND VIZIER, *on the other Part.*

"The French army in Egypt, wiſhing to ſhew its deſire to ſtop the effuſion of blood, and to put an end to the unfortunate diſpute between the French Republic and the Sublime Porte, agree to evacuate Egypt, according to the terms of the preſent Convention, and in the hope that this conceſſion will open the way to a general peace in Europe.

1. "The French army to retire, with its arms, baggage, and effects, to Alexandria, Roſetta, and Aboukir, there to embark for France, in veſſels to be provided by the Sublime Porte.

2. "An armiſtice of three months to take place from the date of the preſent Convention.

3. " Commiſſaries to be appointed on either ſide to ſuperintend the embarkation; and if any diſpute ſhall ariſe, it is to be decided by Sir Sidney Smith, according to the maritime laws of England.

4. " The French army are as ſpeedily as poſſible to evacuate all the forts in their poſſeſſion, leaving them in their preſent ſtate. They are however to retain the Weſtern bank of the Nile until after the evacuation of Cairo.

5. " Cairo to be evacuated within forty-five days.

6. " The French troops not to be moleſted in their perſons, goods, or honour, during their retreat.

7. " The French and Turkiſh troops to be ſtationed at ſuch a diſtance from each other as to prevent any rencontre.

8. " The perſons held in confinement, on either ſide, to be immediately ſet at large.

9. " The goods and property taken on each ſide to be reſtored.

10. " No inhabitant of Egypt to be moleſted for any adherence to the French, after their departure.

11. " Paſſports ſhall be given from the Porte, and its Allies, Great Britain and Ruſſia, to enſure the ſafe return of the French army.

12. " The French army pledges itſelf to commit no hoſtility on its way homeward, and not to touch at any port before their arrival in France, except in case of neceſſity.

13. " If any French veſſels ſhall arrive during the truce, they ſhall be allowed to return with paſſports, after taking in water and proviſions.

14. " General Kleber is allowed to ſend off an advice-boat to inform the French Government of the preſent Convention.

15. " Subſiſtence to be furniſhed to the French army during its ſtay and for its voyage.

16. " The French army is not to raiſe any further contributions; it is, on the contrary, to leave the cattle and magazines, cannon, &c. which are to be valued by Turkiſh

commiſſaries, and by the Commander of the Britiſh forces. If theſe ſhould not amount to the ſum of 3000 purſes, at which the maintenance and embarkation of the French troops are eſtimated, the remainder ſhall be advanced by the Porte, by way of loan.

17. "Advances to be made from time to time to the French army for their ſubſiſtence.

18. "The contributions received by the French, after the date of this Convention, to be deducted from this allowance.

19. "The French tranſport veſſels to be at liberty during the truce to navigate the coaſts of Egypt.

20. "To prevent any danger from the plague, no person ſuppoſed to be infected with that diſtemper is allowed to be embarked, but is to remain under the care of French ſurgeons.

21. "Any difficulty which may ariſe to be ſettled by commiſſaries appointed on each ſide.

22. "This Convention to be ratified within eight days.

(Signed)

DESAIX.	MUSTAPHA RASCHED EFFENDI.
POUSSIELGUE.	MUSTAHPA RASSICHE EFFENDI.

KLEBER, *Commander in Chief, to the* DIVAN OF CAIRO, *and to thoſe of the different Provinces of Egypt.*

"Head-quarters, Salahich, March 6.

"You have for a long time known the conſtant reſolution of the French nation to preſerve its ancient relations with the Ottoman Empire. My illuſtrious predeceſſor, General Bonaparté, has often declared it to you ſince the circumſtances of the war have induced us to viſit this country: he neglected no meaſure to diſſipate the apprehenſions which had been infuſed into the Porte, led as it was to conclude an alliance equally contrary to its intereſts and ours. The explanations ſent by him to the Court of Conſtantinople failed in re-eſtabliſhing ſo deſirable an union; and the march of the Grand Vizier againſt Damas having opened

a more direct mode of communication, he opened negotiations, and confided to me the task of terminating them, at the moment when affairs of superior interest obliged him to return to Europe. I have this day concluded them, and restore this country to the possession of our ancient ally. The re-establishment of the commerce of Egypt will be the first effect of the measure: the treaty shall be the first clause of a peace, which is become necessary to the nations of the West.

"The principles according to which we have governed Egypt are sufficiently known to you. We have maintained and respected your religion, your laws, your customs, and the enjoyment of your property: we do not leave among you the remembrance of any violence: it was to you the interests of the inhabitants were particularly intrusted; you have been placed between the French and them that no injury might be done to the ancient usages of the country. To the wisdom of my Predecessor have you been indebted for those regulations, and I have been sensible of the necessity of maintaining them: the zeal with which you fulfil such honourable duties entitles you to the approbation of all just men, and to the [illegible] which is on the point [illegible] Egypt, directed by you [illegible] established authority: the [illegible] tween them and us is the effect and the reward of your [illegible] ferent labours: I trust that this harmony will be uninterrupted until the complete execution of the treaty. Should unforeseen disorders lead to the breach of it, I would be compelled to suppress them by the force of arms.

(Signed) "KLEBER."

EXTRACT

Of the Report of the Captain of Grenadiers of the 13th Demi-brigade, respecting what passed at the Fortress of El-Arisch

"On the 21st of December the Turkish army appeared before and invested the fortress of El-Arisch: the trenches

were opened the ſame night, and a battery of mottars played upon the place. On the 23d a conſiderable number of the ſoldiers in garriſon talked of ſurrendering; and a petition, ſigned by eighty ſoldiers, was delivered to Cazot, chief of battalion; ſtating, that the garriſon would no longer fight, and ordering him to ſurrender the fortreſs.

"The next day the Commander aſſembled the garriſon, and deſired that thoſe who were cowardly enough to talk of ſurrendering might quit the place and join the enemy, but that he and the officers were determined to hold out. The Turks having made ſome advances on the 28th, Captain Feray was ordered to make a ſally, at the head of the grenadiers, for the purpoſe of driving them back; but the grenadiers refuſed to follow him, except three men: he was, therefore, compelled to retreat; and, as he returned, a part of the garriſon had taken down the French ſtandard over the gate; the artillery ceaſed firing, and white ſtandards were hoiſted. Every attempt was made to induce the ſoldiers to do their duty, but all in vain; the cowards even invited the Turks, from the rampart, to enter the place! The whole Turkiſh army, horſe and foot, drew near in a ſhort time, and the ſoldiers let down cords to aſſiſt the Turks in mounting! A ſallyport was, at length, opened, (it is not known by what means) and the fort was in an inſtant filled with Turks, who diſarmed the garriſon, and cut off the heads of the very perſons who had furniſhed them with the cords to aſcend the walls! The Commander, Cazot, however, fortunately, ſucceeded in making a capitulation with Selim Muſtapha Pacha, and an Engliſh officer, who had entered the place; and it was regulated, that the garriſon ſhould lay down their arms and continue priſoners of war. It was impoſſible to reſtore order among the Turks. The French who fell into the hands of the Turkiſh and Engliſh officers were conducted to the camp of the Grand Vizier; and the others, incited to defend themſelves, by the example of thoſe whoſe heads had been cut off, fought the Turks for half an hour longer. Captain Feray had but juſt entered the camp of the Grand Vizier when the powder

magazine blew up: the French neareſt to the ſpot, after the exploſion, were put to death by the Turks. Among the number of thoſe whoſe heads were cut off was the chief of battalion, Grandpere.

"On the morning of that fatal day the greater part of the garriſon had drank a great quantity of brandy; but previouſly to it we had only loſt ſeven or eight men in killed and wounded.

"Two hundred and ſixteen men, including fourteen officers, were taken priſoners, and conducted to Goya.

(Signed) "FERAY."

"Dated at the camp near Salahich, January 17."

Thus the Conſul ſaw the termination of a project, which contemplated the vaſt ſchemes of overturning the Eaſtern power of Britain, and of uniting the two seas; but he conſoled himſelf for the failure againſt Britain, by the conſideration of his having overturned the government of his country, and, if he could not unite the seas, he would do much better, by indentifying the House of Buonaparte with the fate of the French nation.

It was not long after the arrival of General Kleber's diſpatches, that General Deſaix, Citizen Pouſſielgue, and about one hundred and fifty officers of the Army of Egypt, reached Leghorn, in a neutral ſhip, on their way to France. The letters of General Deſaix put an end to all hopes that had been entertained at Paris, of co operation from the Army of Egypt; for the Engliſh Admiral, Lord Keith, refuſed to ratify the treaty, having received inſtructions from his government to that effect, when it was learned, by the Intercepted Letters of Buonaparté, that the French deſigned to take the benefit of ſuch a treaty.

It is extremely difficult for an hiſtorian to give an opinion upon an event of this ſort without appearing to diveſt himſelf of that attribute of Impartiality for which this work ought to be characterized. It was natural enough that the French ſhould complain of any obſtacle thrown in the way of a treaty in the moment when it ought to have been executed; and, it, conſequently, happened, that all the common-place charges of breach of faith, and forfeiture of national honour, were, by the French papers, brought againſt the Britiſh Government upon the occaſion. Whether thoſe charges were all founded or not, poſterity will, probably, be better able to judge, than we can be, in an age when moſt of our deciſions are guided by our attachment or averſion to the reſpective parties, rather than by the unſophiſticated evidence of fact.

The ſubject was brought before the Britiſh parliament, by one of its own members, and underwent many long diſcuſſions: the principal ground taken by thoſe in oppoſition to Government was the inviolability of treaties. The Miniſtry anſwered, that they had not authoriſed the ſigning any treaty, and, therefore, that they were not bound to ratify the act of an officer who had aſſumed a power with which he was not inveſted by his Government. By the French it was contended, that General Kleber had not regarded Sir Sydney Smith as a mere military man, he having been at Conſtantinople in a diplomatic capacity.

The petulance of the French Government and the irritability of the Engliſh gave the tranſaction much more the character of a quibble than a diſpute; and, perhaps, it will always be difficult to determine on which ſide the juſtice lay. There can, however, be

little presumption in affirming, that a government which suffers its officers to be so ignorant of its dispositions, as to be incapable of acting in circumstances evidently connected with the performance of their duties (be its sense of propriety and justice what it may) is destitute of that sense of prudence and sound policy which is essential to a wise government.

Beside the rupture of the treaty, a measure highly offensive in itself, it was done in a manner (if the French accounts are to be credited) that gave it the appearance of an insolent aggression, unworthy of the nation in whose name it was committed. After Lord Keith had sent General Desaix to the Lazaretto (the French accounts say) he descended so far as to affront him, by proposing to allow him *ten pence* per day for his keep! that being the sum allowed to the French soldiers taken prisoners: and caused it to be observed to him, ironically, "That the equality proclaimed in France did not admit of his being better treated than they were." If Lord Keith did so, he must be execrated by every man of honour; and he ought to be despised by every Englishman, who feels his national pride wounded whenever he hears a foreigner exclaim against the insolence and brutality of the naval officers of his country. Be it as it may, the pointed repartee of Desaix to the sarcasm alluded to, animadverted so severely upon the English Admiral, that the translator of a biographical notice of the General, excused himself from putting it into English language, upon the ground that the *Habeas Corpus* Act was then suspended.

The Court of St. James's, afterwards, saw reason to confirm the engagements entered into by Sir Sydney Smith; General Desaix and the other officers were,

therefore, allowed to proceed to France: but the ratification did not reach Egypt till General Kleber had been made acquainted with the previous inſtructions to Lord Keith: and we ſhall be under the neceſſity of returning, once again, to trace the devaſtations and miſeries of war on the banks of the Nile.

Whilſt Buonaparté was exerting every nerve to eſtabliſh his power and to complete the ſubjugation of Europe, a domeſtic conſpiracy had nearly put an end to his career; it was compoſed of Jacobins, Royaliſts, and Moderates; men of ruined fortunes and diſappointed ambition, who united in one common project of anarchy, for the ſake of pillage or promotion: they were animated with no patriotic deſire to free their country from ſlavery, for Buonaparté had not proved himſelf a greater tyrant than his predeceſſors; but though their ſcheme failed, it gave him a pretence to aſſume powers which were dangerous to public and individual liberty, and ſhewed the firſt glimpſe of that return of arbitrary power, which was never exceeded under the monarchy.

The firſt circumſtance which teſtified the diſpoſition of Buonaparte to govern by his own will was, a law which he cauſed to be paſſed in the two legiſlative councils, for the creation of a ſpecial criminal tribunal, ſuſpending the trial by jury, and enabling the judges to pronounce ſummarily on all offences affecting the ſafety of the ſtate, or in any meaſure violating the ſocial compact; a latitude of expreſſion which put the life of every man in danger: the judges were partly civil and partly military, and were permitted to decide merely on written evidence. The pretended object of the law was, to repreſs the numerous crimes which had been committed on the

highways, and various other places, by a ſet of looſe people, the impure dregs of the Revolution and the war, who, without employment or fixed reſidence, were continually preying upon the reſt of ſociety; but it was eaſy to ſee that theſe were not the only people intended to be ſtruck by the law; it aimed at the Emigrants, and all thoſe who might be ſuppoſed capable of attempting the life of the Firſt Conſul; and as ſuch, gave an arbitrary, unlimited, and dangerous power to his creatures in every department. The law met with conſiderable oppoſition in the Tribunate, and was carried only by a majority of eight, out of ninety members who voted. The precedent of ſuch an attack upon the Conſtitution was fatal, and wherever there are certain principles eſtabliſhed as the guarantee of liberty, they ſhould be guarded with the utmoſt jealouſy; for the firſt inroad may be conſidered as breaking down the whole. The greateſt evil of this proceeding was, its being ſanctioned by a decree of the Councils; for when injuſtice is committed by the ſole will of an individual, it may be remedied when that individual is removed, and the glaring atrocity of his conduct makes a general impreſſion. The moſt inſidious attack upon liberty is that which is conducted by regular forms; and the moſt dangerous kind of tyranny is that which is eſtabliſhed by law: but Buonaparté ſoon relieved himſelf from all legal formality; yet his advances to ſupreme power, with all the ſtate and dignity which attend it, were ſlow and regular; the tricks and trappings of ſtate were aſſumed firſt to ſee how they would be received; the etiquette of a court, the eſtabliſhment of a levee, of drawing-rooms, and all the pompous ceremonials of monarchy, were ſeemingly

well reliſhed by the Pariſians, who had not yet loſt all their affection for royalty; the appellation of female citizen was aboliſhed, and the antient feudal title of Madame was reſtored; and though the name of citizen, as founded on political equality, could not be eaſily diſpenſed with by a people enamoured of their late Revolution, yet the term Monſieur was allowed to be uſed at pleaſure: all theſe things ſeemed to indicate pretty ſtrongly, that Buonaparté wiſhed to baniſh the remembrance of that Revolution which had given him his place, and to be thought to poſſeſs an authority long eſtabliſhed. The encreaſe of the Conſular Guard took place about the ſame time with the peeviſh diſmiſſal of the Councils, and the re-eſtabliſhment of religion.

Buonaparté had always affected to be the patron of ſcience and literature, and his brother Lucien, was the diſpenſer of his bounty, the Macænas of his favors; for Lucien too had, or pretended to have, a paſſion for literature, and delivered two or three well-turned ſpeeches, which gained him the praiſe of taſte and liberality. Tyrants do well to purchaſe the praiſes of men of letters, that they may make a decent figure with poſterity; and the Buonapartes were extremly fortunate in having to treat with an obſequious generation, whoſe virtues and talents were not rated above the price of their pitiful boons.

The paltry penſion of an hundred a year, granted by the government to the virtuous St. Lambert,—ruined by the Revolution, and eighty years of age, was a poor recompenſe for his philoſophy and poetry! yet when governments plead poverty, as the miniſter Lucien did in his letter to the aged Marquis, they only mean it as an excuſe for their profligacy and neglect

of merit, unleſs they deſign to ſhew that they expect every ſort of ſervice at their own price.

Among the many other ſchemes to entrap the confidence of the nation, and make them believe that Buonaparté was ſincerely intereſted in the public welfare, was the method adopted by the Miniſter of the Interior to extend the boundaries of knowledge and promote the improvement of the country; for this purpoſe he commenced a correſpondence with the different Prefects of Departments, with the School of Medicine, the Society of Agriculture, and Claſs of Sciences belonging to the Public Inſtitute, for the ſake of obtaining a ſtatiſtical account of the country; all this had the effect of impoſing upon the public; but it was ſoon abandoned. Lucien had neither ſteadineſs of diſpoſition, ſtrength of mind, nor virtuous principle ſufficient to purſue ſuch an undertaking, and bring it to maturity; he is a man of lively talents, but not poſſeſſed of ſolidity requiſite for ſo great a purpoſe, and neither he nor the Great Conſul himſelf were hearty in the cauſe; they had both adopted the cant of philoſophy, without embracing its principles; and their only object was, to delude the people with an idea of their being actuated by patriotic motives. This will be a ſufficient key to all Buonaparté's ſchemes of public good: he knows that this is an age in which men talk much about it, but that very few actually intend it; and he has no further view himſelf than to fall in with the temper of the times, in order to gain himſelf as much popularity as may be requiſite for the ſupport of his power.

The French philoſophers have written much to prove, that the belief of religion was not eſſential to the practice of virtue; and, it has happened, that

Buonaparté, whilſt monopolizing all the military glory of the world, has ſo far plucked the laurels from the brows of thoſe philoſophers, as to have proved that the virtue of their diſciples does not greatly exceed that of the Chriſtians. How miſerably diſappointed were all thoſe who looked forward to the viſion of Condorcet, when "the inequality of nations and ſocieties was to be deſtroyed, and man was to approach perfection! "Could that Philoſopher have viſited this earth again, he might have found, in his own France, a country where nature ſeemed to have condemned the inhabitants never to enjoy liberty, and never to exerciſe their reaſon."

CHAPTER XII.

Moral Effects of Buonaparté's Elevation to the Government of France.

NO event had occurred, from the firſt dawn of the French Revolution, that led to conſequences more important in their nature or more extenſive in their effects than Buonaparté's Uſurpation. The principles of republicaniſm were now ſubdued and the rights of man no longer aſſerted in France—not in that France, which, for eight long years, had held the dagger to the breaſt of every one who had ventured to doubt the political equality of man, and which had traced the ſource of every vice in the catalogue of moral depravity up to the one ſingle act of *acknowledging any* INDIVIDUAL *capable of exerciſing the ſovereign authority!* Such a change could not fail to aſtoniſh Europe; and poſterity will not be ſurpriſed that it produced reſults much more extenſive than were immediately obſerved.

Among the moſt obvious of thoſe effects was an almoſt univerſal paralyſis of political opinion, which, inſenſibly, led all the parties in the different countries of the civilized world into an endleſs variety of inconſiſtencies, for which they could not themſelves account.

This ſentimental revolution led to a confirmed apathy in France, Germany, Pruſſia, Holland, Flanders, and even Italy itſelf, in a certain degree, although the war was ſtill raging in that country and occupied its unrelieved attention. America and England were the only nations that retained the *ſemblance*

of regard for political truth, and there the ſpirit of inconſiſtency continuing to operate, was more apparent.

From the completion of the firſt revolution in France the political parties of Europe might have been claſſed under ſix deſcriptions:

Firſt.—Thoſe who, from perſonal attachments to the reigning governors, were determined to ſupport their ſeveral ſyſtems, with all their corruptions unreformed:

Secondly.—Thoſe who would have been willing to correct the abuſes, if they could have preſerved the reformed ſyſtems in the hands of the reigning governors, to whom they alſo, were perſonally attached:

Thirdly.—Thoſe, who, from perſonal reſentment againſt the reigning governors, were deſirous of magnifying the abuſes of their adminiſtration for the mere gratification of their own malice, and not from any diſlike to the abuſes themſelves:

Fourthly.—Thoſe, who, without either attachments or reſentments, had reſolved to get abuſes reformed, be the conſequences to the reigning governors what thy might:

Fifthly.—Thoſe, who, from mere ambition, were always ready to inflame the popular reſentment againſt the reigning governors, with the view of getting to reign themſelves; of theſe, ſome would have reformed government, and ſome would have uſurped without reforming it:

Sixthly.—Thoſe, who, from being prejudiced in favour of particular forms of government, were, in all caſes, willing to ſacrifice both the governors and the governed to the eſtabliſhment of their own ſyſtems.

To ſome of thoſe ſects the great maſs of all nations were obliged to ſubmit, alternately, as they happened to ſucceed; and it had been the fortune of thoſe countries contiguous to France to be occaſionally, diſtracted by them all. In England, where the power of the government was ſufficient to defy the cenſures of oppoſition, little regard had been paid during the whole Gallic ſtruggle to theſe diſtinctions: but, in the general, all perſons who urged the neceſſity of reform, however moderate their views, were branded, by the firſt claſs, with the moſt odious epithets that could be beſtowed upon malcontents and leaders of faction, whilſt the violent reformers took as little pains to diſcriminate between the different motives that induced their contemporaries to diſſent from their projects, ſo that they ſaw nothing but the moſt baſe and corrupted ſatellite of tyranny in every one who would have been contented to have had the ſtate reformed through any other medium than their revolution.

Many of thoſe perſons had ſuppoſed that the ſucceſs of the French arms was favourable to their views, and they had conſtantly wheeled about from change to change with every new form which the adminiſtrative authority of that country had aſſumed, becauſe, in the language of the ſeveral proclamations, upon which thoſe fleeting governments were founded, it was always ſtated that they were to extend the victories of France.

The liberties of the people could not be promoted by ſuch partiſans; for, like the builders of Babel, no one of them underſtood the other. The Government reſorted to the artifice of ſtigmatizing every friend of liberty as a traitor, and the revolutioniſts conſidered

no other quality than that of traitor neceſſary to conſtitute a friend of liberty. Now this vice, which the Britiſh Government was perpetually complaining of, was in reality its beſt ſecurity: for the Engliſh revolutioniſts formed all their ideas of liberty according to the laſt French definition, and thence acquired ſuch a habit of relying upon French aid, that they never imagined themſelves capable of the leaſt exertions; and ſo long as the miniſters could keep a French army from their coaſts there was nothing that ought to have prevented them ſleeping quietly in their beds.

The aſſumption of the government by Buonaparté operated as a kind of touchſtone upon all parties: for his authority did not reſt upon any principle that thoſe who profeſſed their attachment to liberty had not exploded; and, as far as regarded mere political rule, there was not one of thoſe principles which the Britiſh Government and its friends had not pointed out as the baſis of good order. It was evident to all the world that the Britiſh miniſter had purſued the war for the ſole purpoſe of diſcomfiting Jacobiniſm; and the Firſt Conſul had drank ſo deep of the ſpirit which actuated that miniſter that he laboured day and night for the ſame object; and yet, when he ſued for that friendſhip which kindred ſpirits generally bear to each other, inſtead of acknowledging Buonaparté's merits, Mr. Pitt obſtinately repulſed him, as if he had *really* been the "child and champion of Jacobiniſm."

It was equally evident, that all thoſe who aſſociated the affairs of France with the cauſe of liberty, profeſſed to do ſo, only becauſe they ſuppoſed that the ſucceſs of France would lead to the eſtabliſhment of governments founded upon the choice of the people, and acting for their good: but the cataſtrophe of the

Legiſlative Body of France had proved that the voice of the people was entirely ſtifled: they had ſeen Buonaparté, at the head of his *gens-d'armes* and mamelukes, picking out ſuch of the repreſentatives of the people as he diſliked and throwing them into dungeons, in the ſame manner as they had ſeen Pitt, at the head of his officers of police, throw their countrymen into ſolitary cells, under the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act: yet, in the ſame breath, they could hold up Pitt as an *object of execration* and Buonaparté as a *pattern of imitation!*

Not a rational effort, not a rational ſuggeſtion in favour of liberty made its appearance in England after this period; and, if ever ſuch an event ſhould happen again, it will not be till that liſtleſs and torpid part of the community, which credulouſly follows the unexamined opinions of others, ſhall become wiſe enough to take the trouble of thinking for itſelf, and following ſuch leaders as fairly explain their ultimate deſigns in clear and unequivocal terms.

The overthrow of Republicaniſm, by Buonaparté, placed the court, the miniſters, the politicians, and the people of England, in a very different ſituation to what they were in before that event: yet none poſſeſſed diſcernment enough to diſcover the change but the ſmall circle that formed the interior cabinet of St. James's. Great numbers of thoſe who oppoſed the Government, whether from good or bad motives, had conſtituted the imitative maſs already ſpoken of, who formed all their notions after the French faſhion: with them the ſovereign ſpecific for all the diſorders of mankind was "hatred to kings;" and they compounded their remedy with ſuch a copious mixture of

error, misrepresentation, and malevolence, that the Court hardly needed the recollection of the fate of the unfortunate House of Bourbon to teach it the necessity of courting all the affection and all the talents that could be brought to its support. The danger was now over: the whole body of unprincipled reformers, the whole generation of apes, *were nonplussed!* Representatives of the People, Committees of Public Safety, and Directors without number, they could have found at any time; but a First Consul they were totally unprovided with; it was an exigence altogether unforeseen: and it was evident that they must put up with an old King till they should find out a new Consul!

This one event did more towards confirming the abuses, known to exist in the English administration, than all the arbitrary acts and arbitrary imprisonments of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues; for it even divested that ministry of the engine by which it had maintained its own power, and reduced it to insignificance and contempt, even to the Court itself.

La Politique, a subject which, almost at all times, affords an Englishman a substitute for food, for health, for pleasure, for religion, and for happiness, now became disgusting. The unprincipled multitude could not disclose any of their present opinions without exposing themselves to the ridicule of their own consciences; and the men of principle were so few, that they were driven into obscurity as idle dreamers, alike obnoxious to the deceivers and the deceived. The clamours of seven years, which had kept the country in constant agitation, had now evaporated, without one point having been gained for the benefit of the people, whilst their burdens were increased

double; and, what was inconceivably worſe, they had become ſo corrupted in mind that a new generation became neceſſary before any amendment could be hoped for.

The national character was changed, and the old Engliſh hoſpitality, that yet diſplayed its ſmiling face in 1793, was ſuperſeded by gaunt frugality and care; which treated generoſity, in all its viſits, as an impertinent interloper, and taught both rich and poor, the Jew as well as the Chriſtian, the Philoſopher as the Atheiſt, to unite in tormenting each other by the magical effect of—Love THYSELF—preſerve THYSELF—take care of THYSELF.

The virtuous love of country was reduced to as low an ebb in England as in any deſpotiſm in Europe, and a ſordid ſpirit of party had uſurped its place: few perſons were to be found whoſe views remained ſufficiently liberal to contemplate the welfare of all claſſes equally. An anxiety to commit repriſals upon each other was the prevailing feeling that diſtracted every breaſt, politically conſidered; and the patriot ſtruggle of *how much*, was changed into *how little* each ſhould do for his country.

The iſſue of the French Revolution had ſhewn, as far as it had gone, that a corrupt people were incapable of producing a pure government; and the argument was as applicable to the people of England as to the people of France; for thoſe who approved of the French exceſſes would have committed them themſelves, if they had had the ſame opportunity, and would have bowed their necks to a military tyrant in their own country as readily as they admired him in another. But none of the Britiſh patriots had patriotiſm enough to remonſtrate with their countrymen

for this profligacy; if, therefore, any of the political wreſtlers of England, who entered upon the 19th century, contend for principles more important than the difference between a King and a Conſul, thoſe principles are wholly concealed, and the wiſe reformers have not advanced two ideas before the Council of Five Hundred, who were "caught napping" at St. Cloud.

This abandonment of principle, on the part of the Engliſh reformers, ſurpriſed Buonaparté as much as did the perſonal enmity that the Pittites ſeemed to entertain againſt him. The preſs of France had long been rendered incapable of ſpeaking any ſentiment but that of the government; and the only appearance of free diſcuſſion that was preſerved in Europe was by means of ſome occaſional journals in Holland, and the gazettes ſupported by the Engliſh reformers. To thoſe of Holland he paid no regard; becauſe, as he kept a conſtant ſupply of troops in that country, he could as eaſily Baſtile their authors and printers as he could thoſe of France: to the firmneſs and conſiſtency of "Burke's eighty thouſand incorrigibles" he looked with more dread. He had figured to himſelf a club at Hamburgh, conſiſting of Engliſh, Iriſh, and French Jacobins, united to fulminate anathemas againſt an armed deſpotiſm, and to remind the French, that, "for a nation to be free, it is ſufficient that ſhe wills it." He had expected that his own authority, joined to that of the Pitt miniſtry, would have been neceſſary to ſubdue an obſtinate and ſtiff-necked race, equally obnoxious and troubleſome to both: but when he found that the Pittites were ſo ill-acquainted with their own intereſts that they would hazard the reſtoration of the Republic rather than make peace with his Deſpotiſm, he conceived too contemptible an opinion of them

to care whether he concluded peace with them or not: and, when he saw the reformers filing off to his Monarchy as complaisantly as if he had been chosen by universal suffrage, he regarded them as a mere grumbling faction, whose best principles were their personal resentments, for the gratification of which they would readily follow any adventurer; and he saw that they might, one day, become the humble instruments, in his hands, of promoting his ambitious views upon their own country.

There is no example of baseness in the annals of mankind equal to the conduct of a collection of reformers at Paris, who had abjured their several countries on account of a congeniality of sentiment that they expected to find in France. No necessity whatever had called upon them to exile themselves: it was the *delicacy* of their sentiments alone which rendered them incapable of submitting to the authorities under which they were born, because they had exercised no voice in their election. Freedom, they pretended, was to be found under the republican form of government alone: to support this form, they taught, that every relation of life was to be dissolved and every social tie abandoned: yet the General, at the head of his grenadiers, had no sooner proclaimed himself Chief of their adopted country, than they obsequiously acknowledged as their sovereign, a man, whom they had, a few days before, familiarly addressed as their fellow citizen, and who had done more than almost any other person to persuade them that they ought never to submit to the sovereign rule!

Among those apostates were Germans, Italians, Swedes, Poles, Hollanders, Englishmen, Irishmen,

and Americans; all the disciples of "equality and the rights of man," who, with their president, Paine, at their head, skulked into a pusillanimous obscurity, and never mustered courage enough to tell the world whether or not it ought to think itself sufficiently compensated, for ten years of warfare and the blood of two millions of its inhabitants, by having obtained a Buonaparté in lieu of a Bourbon!

The people of England, who, like all other nations, must of necessity be influenced by the French Revolution, never perceived that they were affected by it in a different way; but, placed in different circumstances, and owing to their own senseless stupidity, are very likely to lose all the advantages that their peculiar situation might afford them. During the continuance of the Republic the English reformers, or pretended reformers, assisted the press in some attempts to diffuse useful truths and general principles without consulting individual interests; but, after the assumption of the Consulate, those poltroons found it unfashionable to profess their sentiments, and they would not support one newspaper that should assert the rights of the people! principles were forgotten and persons alone held up to observation. Parties that professed themselves the friends of Government, with all its corruptions and abuses. rallied themselves together by the most offensive calumnies upon the First Consul, and those who talked about reform fancied that they were forwarding their object wonderfully by dealing out his exaggerated praises: both were equally hypocritical, for neither believed so much as they pretended; the advocates of Government only holding up Buonaparté as an object of resentment in order to get rid of their own share, and

the Reformers chuſing that ground of contention to conceal their cowardice, inclined them to form a truce with corruptions, againſt which it was no longer faſhionable to complain.

The acting politicians in England, ſince that period, have been little elſe than calumniators or panegyriſts of Buonaparté: all the newſpapers may be ſo divided; and ſo little of public virtue and political integrity is there to be found in the united kingdom, notwithſtanding the vehemence of debate and the pretended love of freedom, that there is not a ſufficient number of patriots in it to ſupport a journal, in which their antagoniſts ſhould have the ſame right of propagating his ſentiments that they claim for themſelves!

Fine ſentiments have certainly eſcaped from the lips of all the contending parties, in their turn; and, indeed, from an inattentive obſerver, thoſe fine ſentiments might gain as much credit as before the overthrow of the Republic: but many of the French Republicans uttered, from time to t me, as plauſible ſentiments as could have iſſued from the lips of angels; yet they were only warring againſt the Calonne's, the Broglio's, and the Montmorency's of their old government, in order to raiſe themſelves into financiers, intendants, and legionaries of honour, under a new one: ſelf was at the bottom of all they did; and, while they pretended that they were actuated by a deſire to raiſe the people, their real deſign was to raiſe themſelves upon the credulity of the people. Their elevation was quite of a different kind to what they pretended; it was not to make the people greater than they were, nor the government leſs, but to make themſelves equal to both: the Engliſh patriots, therefore, ſhould produce ſomething better than flowery

ſpeeches before their country will be in a condition to take the advantages from its peculiar ſituation which it might derive from the French Revolution.

Circumſtanced as all parties were at the overthrow of the Republic, they were all equally intereſted in a candid inquiry after truth: it was their intereſt to have conſigned Buonaparté to that degree of inattention, which a few months would have enveloped him in, if their perpetual exhibition of him had not forced him into GREATNESS; and to have employed themſelves in examining the effects that the great change was likely to produce in the affairs of their own country.

Theſe things could only have been learned by an unuſual degree of induſtry in the inveſtigation of truth, and patriotiſm could not have been diſplayed better than by facilitating the attempt. But the Engliſh patriots have to take ſhame to themſelves that they have contributed nothing for the ſervice of their country but talk; they promiſe what they will do, but the time may not come till all thoſe will be dead who are deſirous of witneſſing their zeal: for the preſent, it is much to be lamented, that, whatever their love of country may conſiſt in, it is not in any endeavour to improve its ſoil, its commerce, its manufactures, the knowledge of the ſciences, the comforts of the people, nor the improvement of their morals. Is virtue rewarded or profligacy reformed? little credit can be claimed by them upon theſe grounds: and they are as criminally indifferent to the inſipidity and baſe corruption of the preſs, as if they already lay proſtrate before a Firſt Conſul of their own, and dreaded the expoſure of folly and of crime.

In fine, whatever of generoſity, of virtue, of cou-

rage, above the moſt vulgar kinds, exiſted in England before the Conſulſhip of Buonaparté commenced, they are nothing more than matters of hiſtory to ſtrangers who have arrived there ſince that period. If the people are now much better pleaſed with the Government than they were, it is not on account of its having been amended, but becauſe all the vices, of which it is ſaid to be compoſed, are practiſed by every private individual in his own concerns; and it is diſcovered that they cannot get rid of the oppreſſions of which they formerly complained without abandoning thoſe which they exerciſe, in their turn. It is now generally underſtood by the Engliſh of all claſſes, except the pooreſt, that perſonal reform muſt be the price of national reform: each one, for himſelf, has reſolved that he will not begin firſt; and, of thoſe who continue to murmur, moſt of them do it from mere habit, without deſiring the leaſt amendment whatever: nay, the majority of the reformers are ſo incorrigibly depraved, that, if they could trace out one man of ſincerity amongſt them, they would quit their common enemy to turn upon him, with the whole weight of their jealouſies, ſurmiſes, miſconſtructions, and—if he reſiſted—calumnies, until they had made him appear as black as the moſt obnoxious of their opponents; and then they would tack about again—to preach reform!

CHAPTER XIII.

Character of the War.—Inactivity of the Allies.—Alertness of the French.—Peace in the Departments.—Proclamation of General Brune to the Venetians, &c.—Campaign opens on the Rhine.—Victories of the French.—Valour of the Austrians.—Their Hopes, and retreat across the Danube. Arrival of Buonaparté at Dijon.—Obstacles opposed to the Army of Reserve.—Successes of General Miollis in the South.—Consequences.—Relative Situation of the Armies.

ALTHOUGH the war had now resumed so much of the character of former wars, as to be a war of persons and not of principles, it still claimed a part of its own originality, as it was conducted by new men on the side of France; whilst, on the side of the Allies it was left to the management of the poor besotted race of antiquated courtiers, of which the old governments were composed, and whose spleen and pride rendered them so unwieldy, that they could only make one motion, in the time that a Frenchman would make three.

Much valuable time had been wasted in attempts to change the mind of the Emperor of Russia, when his inflexible resolution to desert the confederacy was declared in a way that deprived the Allies of all grounds to expect his co-operation. Buonaparté had availed himself of the season of suspense to employ the active General Brune, *ci-devant* commander in chief in Holland, to allay the troubles in the Western departments, and conciliate the inhabitants

by relaxing the severities which the mistaken policy of the Republic had exercised there.

These Royalists acted with more consistency than any other description of people whom the Revolution had a tendency to affect: they did not principally fight for the family of Bourbon, but against the tyranny of the Republic; and, when that tyranny was overthrown, they had no sufficient motive for continuing in arms. A short truce was granted them by the French generals, which, being dulcified by a general amnesty, and some ameliorations in religious arrangements, closed by an amicable adjustment. Georges and Frotté, two enterprising chiefs of the Insurgents were included in the amnesty; but it was afterwards discovered, (or said to be so by Buonaparté's generals) that the peace had been treacherously entered into by the rebel generals and officers, with a view of gaining time, till one of the Bourbon princes could be landed: whether true or false, Frotté, and many others, were shot for the treason, and Brune announced the termination of the war in a Proclamation to the Vendeans, &c.

ARMY OF THE WEST.

"BRUNE, *Counsellor of State, General in Chief, to the Inhabitants of the Departments of Morbihan, Finisterre, and the Cotes du Nord.*

"At length you touch upon the termination of your calamities: tranquillity springs up again in your countries, lately the prey of civil dissensions. The chiefs of these unhappy dissensions have heard the voice of reason; they wish to draw the attention of their country only to their inviolable fidelity: the Catholic priests must make the words of peace, union, and justice be heard. The affections of all attach themselves to a Government which

pardons, and ſurrounds our glorious Republic with the eſteem of the univerſe.

" Of what import is it whether thoſe, whom jealous —— ſubſidizes, return to hide their ſhame in the icy caverns of the North, or come back again to the centre of Europe, in ſearch of new diſgraces? The moſt terrible enemies of the French were the French themſelves: incendiary torches were prepared againſt Breſt, and its fleets;—and ſome Frenchmen were to have been the inſtruments of that crime! oh ſhame!

" But the compact with the foreign foe has been trampled under foot! The rocks of Morbihan and Finiſterre ſhall be in, future, more terrible to our enemies than the tempeſts. Concord is reſtored amongſt us.

" Sailors, who have been led aſtray! return to thoſe ports, once rich with your courage and your activity: the government invites you. Buonaparté, who has given to the army ſo much glory, wiſhes to raiſe again the French navy, and recal that celebrated æra, when Duquay, Trouin, and all thoſe heroes, your countrymen, diſperſed and deſtroyed the Engliſh ſquadrons, and confirmed the liberty of the ſeas.

" Deſerters! the country conſents to pardon you, but it wiſhes to ſee you with laurels; go, and receive them at the frontiers. Workmen! who have laid aſide the peaceable inſtruments of huſbandry, to charge your hands with parricidal ſteel, be tranquil in your cottages; your wives, your children, your aged parents, demand your tenderneſs and your care: the earth waits only for your labour, to repay you with its grateful productions. Let every one reſume his uſual occupation; abundance will return with order. Under a juſt and reſpected government every Frenchman is the maſter of his own happineſs; and it is the happineſs of every individual that compoſes public felicity. General peace will confirm to us all theſe bleſſings.

" Youthful inhabitants of the towns and country! you

General Moreau

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will not neglect to seize your portion of glory. Do not suffer peace to come without having done anything to obtain it. I know that you have been sensible to the charms of valour. I, myself, will organize the battalions when you shall voluntarily come to enrol yourselves; and I shall inform Buonaparté that I have found men of Brittany worthy of their ancient renown.

"Citizens, let us all forget the past! let the term 'Chouans,' be banished from conversation: let us banish every allusion that might remind us of our public or private misfortunes. A new career opens itself to our view: it is from this point we must set out, and not attempt to look behind. Every thing connected with civil war is forgotten: but, remember, that a government sufficiently strong to pardon must not be forced to punish.

"Done at the head quarters at Vannes, 1st of March, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"BRUNE, General in Chief."

The termination of the civil wars released a considerable body of troops, who were dispatched forthwith to the armies. Carnot, the Minister of War, and General Moreau, had convinced the Consul that the issue of the campaign would greatly depend upon a severe blow being struck in the heart of Germany, where he had already signalized himself with so much honour to his military talents. Fortune favoured this plan; for, after the Archduke had left the Austrian army, the Aulic Council had resolved to transfer the theatre of war to Italy. The first effort of Moreau was to cross the Rhine into the Brisgaw, between Strasburgh and Huninguen.

General Kray, successor to the Archduke, arranged his army in four divisions, under Generals Kollowrath, Klinglin, Stzarray, and Klenau. Two armies

of reſerve were ordered to be formed, by authority of the Aulic Council of Vienna, one of them to recruit the army of Italy and the other to be ſtationed in Bohemia; and the Bavarian troops, in the pay of Great Britain, were aſſembled at Donawerth, under the Duke of Deux-Ponts. Orders were received at the head-quarters of the Auſtrian army about the middle of April, for opening the campaign, but hoſtilities did not commence till the 25th, by the left wing of the French army, in the paſſage of the Rhine, commanded by St. Suſanne, and St. Cyr, at fort Kehl, and new Briſach, thirty-five miles South of the former. A variety of ſkirmiſhes took place in the Briſgaw, attended with little advantage to the hoſtile armies, only the French general ſucceeded in deceiving the Auſtrians as to the real point he deſigned to attack.

General St. Suſanne obliged the Auſtrians to fall back on Offenburg, while St. Cyr made himſelf maſter of Freiburg; and another diviſion, under Richepanſe, was ordered to march through Baſil, with inſtructions to take a poſition in the vicinity of Schillenger. While St. Cyr appeared to meditate a paſſage by the defiles of the valley of Kintzig, under the pretext of forming a junction with St. Suſanne, and force his way through the Black Foreſt, this latter general left the Auſtrians to wait for him, again croſſed the Rhine, and aſcending it on the French ſide, again re-croſſed it, and poſted himſelf at Freiburg, thirty miles North-eaſt by North of Baſil, which had been left by St. Cyr for the purpoſe of marching againſt St. Blaiſe, twenty-five miles South-eaſt of the former.

Generals Delmas and Leclerc were ordered to

General Susanne.

ſet out from Baſil for Seckingen: General Richepanſe was ordered to go againſt St. Blaiſe at once to ſupport the movement of General St Cyr, and the right wings of Delmas and Leclerc. General Delmas, with four battalions, forced the Auſtrian poſitions on the Alb, and purſued the enemy with ſo much ſpeed that they could not deſtroy the bridge. Two pieces of cannon and 200 priſoners, were taken by the French in this affair; at the ſame time General Richepanſe repulſed four battalions who advanced from St. Blaiſe, and took 150 priſoners.

While the French were thus manœuvring, the Auſtrians were reſiſting ſeveral diviſions of the enemy, which reſolved to carry the poſitions of the Black Foreſt, towards the ſources of the Danube. Moreau, in the mean time, having diſpatched a conſiderable body of troops, and ſent reinforcements to the right wing of his army, under Lecourbe, gave orders for croſſing the Rhine between Schaffhauſen and Stein, and attacked the rear of the Auſtrian army. This manœuvre was ſo unexpected by the Auſtrians, that the paſſage of the river was effected without any material loſs; and Lecourbe, in about three hours after, poſted himſelf on the right ſide. He engaged the Auſtrians under Fort Hohenwiel, eleven miles North eaſt of Schaffhauſen; he gained the fort by capitulation, and made 800 priſoners, after which he directed his route on the rear of the Imperial army at Stockach, twenty-four miles North-eaſt of Schaffhauſen, while Moreau, with the centre and left diviſions, marched on to the village of Engen. After the end of eight days after the opening of the campaign the French were not only in poſſeſſion of Offenbourg, Freiſbourg, St. Blaiſe, and

Hohenwid, but they had obliged General Kray to abandon the advantageous camp at Donaueſchingen, to which the Archduke had advanced after the defeat of the French at Stockach, in the former year. The French had already taken nine pieces of cannon, and 1,500 priſoners; and they were evidently not worſe ſituated than at the cloſe of the laſt campaign.

General Kray was now fully undeceived as to the deſigns of Moreau, and he aſſembled the main body of his army, which had been conſiderably diſperſed; but ſo perfectly ignorant were the Auſtrians of the force they had to encounter, that they could not collect a ſufficient army to face the enemy, though they had been all the winter preparing. The main army could not advance for fear of leaving the Archduke Ferdinand, Generals Ginlay, and Kienmayer, with their corps, in danger of being cut off, they not being able to run ſo faſt from Offenbourg, and Friebourg as the French ran after them.

In the mean time, Lecourbe fell in with a body of Auſtrian troops, under the command of Prince Joſeph of Lorraine, in the vicinity of Stockach, which he defeated with very great loſs, and purſued them beyond that town, after taking a vaſt number of cannon, beſides magazines and ſtores.

Moreau attacked them at Engen, and, after a deſperate conflict, carried every one of their poſts, and being nearly ſurrounded, they retreated during the night towards Moſkirch, twenty-four miles North-eaſt by Eaſt of Engen. The loſs ſuſtained by the Auſtrians on the 3d of May, in the vicinity of Stockach, was upwards of 10,000 men, in which number 4,000 priſoners were included. The ſingular

mode of attack adopted by Moreau was not foreſeen by the enemy, and, conſequently, the Imperialiſts ſuſtained a prodigious loſs in magazines and baggage. With ſuch rapidity did the Auſtrians retreat, that the French found it impoſſible to keep pace with them, although they wiſhed to allow them no time to collect their forces. Kray was aſtoniſhed at all he had beheld of the maſterly generalſhip of Moreau; yet, as he had a formidable army under his command, he was determined to ſtop the career of the French army, or make their advance coſt them dear. The Archduke Ferdinand had not joined the army at the time of the battle of Engen: and the counſellors of the Auſtrian camp could only account for the ſtrength of Moreau's army, by believing that five diviſions had been *lent* to him from the camp at Dijon.

By the loſs of Stockach and Engen, which General Kray had fortified, the whole of a country where he expected to make a vigorous defence, and every poſition between Donaueſchingen and the Rhine was taken by the French: he had now to contend againſt the menacing route of the French army, determined to penetrate into the very heart of Germany. He got, by virtue of his rapid retreat, between Moreau and the final object of his march, took a poſition at Moſkirch, and waited the aſſault of the French General. At Moſkirch the Auſtrian army was joined by the corps of Prince Joſeph, General Grinlay, the Bavarians in the pay of England, and the Archduke Ferdinand, who had diſplayed much ſkill in his retreat, having contrived to take three pieces of cannon and ſome priſoners from the French.

The army of General Kray amounted to near 40,000 men, General Moreau's to full that number. Both armies were in high ſpirits. Moreau had now his antagoniſt before him, and he arranged his army for an immediate engagement, one diviſion of it being commanded by himſelf in perſon, and another by General St. Cyr, ſtationed between Stockach and the Danube. The battle began on the plain before the wood of Grembach, of which place the French ſoon made themſelves maſters. The Auſtrians, whoſe artillery was far ſuperior to that of the French, made every effort to turn the left wing of the enemy, and fought with deſperate valour, from the recollection of the ſignal victory which had been gained over them only the day before. Their attacks were extremely briſk, and it required all the cool and ſteady courage of Moreau, and ſuch an army as he commanded, to meet them. Three times forced, by the valour and impetuoſity of the Auſtrians, to change their poſt, they manœuvred with the greateſt calmneſs, and as often recovered their ground. In all probability, the fate of this day would have been favourable for the Auſtrians, had not Richepanſe come up with the diviſion under his command, which turned the ſcale in favour of the French, the Imperialiſts being forced to retreat a ſecond time, with the loſs of about 9,000 men.

Theſe extraordinary defeats induced Moreau to conclude that Kray would return to Ulm; but extremely averſe to the making of ſuch a ſacrifice, while his army was reſpectable, he took the intervening line of the Riſs, which he gained by forced marches, and where he was determined to await

General St. Cyr.

Pub. by M. J. [illegible]

the result of another battle, but where the French did not long permit him to continue.

Poſſeſſed of the heights in front of the Riſs, Kray deemed himſelf ſecure; but two diviſions, under St. Cyr, had previouſly got poſſeſſion of Biberach, which theſe heights commanded. Richepanſe finding himſelf ſo powerfully ſupported, after ſuſtaining a heavy fire of artillery for four hours, croſſed the river, and made himſelf maſter of this ſtrong poſition: his cavalry croſſed the bridge at the town, in defiance of a tremendous fire, and gained the rear of the Auſtrian infantry. To this bold manœuvre the Republicans were indebted for the good fortune of the day. The Imperialiſts were forced to retreat a third time, after loſing 3,000 taken priſoners, and 2,000 left dead on the field.

Thus repeatedly vanquiſhed, Kray was obliged to collect his forces around Ulm. He was joined by the corps of Kienmayer and Watteville, (Swiſs in the Engliſh pay) and other powerful reinforcements, which increaſed his army to near 60,000 men. Moreau fixed his head-quarters at Memmingen, extending his right wing to Augſburg and Landſperg, fifty-three miles South by Eaſt of Donawerth, and the ſame diſtance from Ulm, in a South-eaſt direction, augmenting his force alſo, by all the troops that could be drawn from Switzerland. The French were here attacked by the Auſtrians, when a deſperate engagement enſued, and victory again declared in their favour, the enemy having retreated in diſorder acroſs the Danube, after the loſs of 2,000 men taken priſoners. Kray, now finding it impoſſible to check the victorious career of the French army, by offenſive operations, reſolved to maintain his poſt at Ulm,

in the hope of receiving ſupplies from Vienna. The deſigns of this veteran were ſoon comprehended by General Moreau, who knew that Kray commanded both banks of the Danube while in his entrenched camp; and, therefore, he reſolved to croſs the river below Ulm, and thus cut off the Auſtrian commander from his magazines at Donawerth, as well as his expected aid from the interior of Germany. While the French marched towards the Danube, Kray, comprehending their intention, ſtrongly reinforced the left bank of the river, to oppoſe their paſſage. The engagement took place at Hoohſtet, and victory was again propitious to the French; the Imperial army having loſt 4,000 men, independent of the killed and wounded.

Kray, ſeeing the danger of his ſituation, collected his troops together, after leaving a ſtrong garriſon at Ulm, and croſſed the Danube at Newburgh, as if he deſigned to make the enemy abandon the left bank of that river in the vicinity of Ulm. A battle enſued, which raged with fury till night, when the Auſtrians were compelled to retreat, and fall back upon Ingolſtadt: by this retreat the French became maſters of the electorate of Bavaria, Ulm was blockaded; and Moreau's army marched forward, and fixed its head-quarters at Munich, without farther trouble or moleſtation.

In the courſe of theſe exertions many inferior actions took place between detached corps, with various ſucceſs, but all had a tendency to ſerve the French, as they led to the ſtate of things for which both Moreau and the Firſt Conſul were exerting themſelves, namely, to diſable Auſtria from ſending any ſupplies to General Melas in Italy.

Moreau had now ſo well ſecured himſelf by the fortreſſes that he held in Switzerland and Bavaria, that he was able to ſpare 25,000 men to ſtrengthen the army of reſerve, by way of Switzerland.

About the period that the campaign was opened on the Rhine, the army of reſerve began its march from Dijon: the government announced it to be at that time 50,000 ſtrong, and receiving reinforcements every day. The Chief Conſul made it no ſecret, that he was to take upon himſelf the chief command: on the 5th of May, he arrived at Dijon, where he reviewed the army. Ridiculous and chimerical as the Allies treated the Conſul's idea of leading his army to victory by way of the Alps; Buonaparté, truſting to the reſources of his invincible mind, promiſed his troops at Dijon, that in two decades he would lead them to Milan! It was incredible, and the unbounded confidence of his army, was neceſſary to receive ſuch an aſſurance in any other light than the vapouring of a coxcomb. The Conſul had performed his journey from Paris to Dijon in twenty-five hours, and he loſt no time to tranſmit an account of his arrival to the Second and Third Conſuls at Paris. Before the Allies knew of his departure he had taken up his reſidence in the Valais, at the Houſe of Convaleſcenſe, belonging to the Monks of St. Bernard! there he continued three days, and made himſelf acquainted with all the local obſtacles that he had to ſurmount.

From the foot of Mount St. Bernard the army began to encounter difficulties which might have been conſidered as inſurmountable, but enthuſiaſm and perſeverance conquered them all. The troops had to draw their artillery along a road ſcarcely

three feet in breadth, in many places almoſt perpendicular; and over mountains of ſnow, which, yielding to the preſſure of the feet, threatened to bury the paſſenger in unfathomable gulphs; and a very inconſiderable force would have been ſufficient to arreſt their progreſs, but they experienced no oppoſition.

Had the Ruſſians continued in the confederacy, there would, doubtleſs, have been a ſufficient force left in the *Val di Aoſte*, to have prevented the poſſibility of croſſing the Alps; but it is evident, that the Auſtrians had not troops enough to meet the determined reſiſtance of the French ſoldiers, and the conſummate talents of the General. The courage and unconquerable perſeverance of the army of Italy had occupied all attention of Melas, and the flower of the Auſtrian army, during the whole winter; and though few in number, required the unceaſing vigilance of very extenſive forces to keep them from eſcaping. At length, General Melas having ſecurely blockaded Maſſena in the town of Genoa, turned his arms againſt General Suchet, whom he had formerly ſeparated from the main body of the French army. Suchet, who had but a ſmall body of troops, kept up a war of poſts, which anſwered the chief purpoſe of his government, that of gaining time; yet he was forced to abandon his poſition at Col de Tende, and retreat before ſuperior numbers. The Auſtrians, by the middle of May were on the frontiers of France, and Suchet, finding it impoſſible to retain Nice any longer, gave orders for its evacuation, making good his retreat acroſs the Var, and thereby putting the whole maritime Alps in poſſeſſion of Melas. The principal advan-

tages gained by the Auſtrians in conſequence of theſe movements, was a temporary conſternation in the Southern departments, but which was preſently allayed, by

A PROCLAMATION

"*Of the* PREFECT *of the Department of the* VAR *to the Municipal Agents.*

Draguignon, May 9th.

"Temporary ſucceſſes, due to numbers rather than to courage, have opened to the enemy the road to our frontiers; they menace thoſe of your departments; if they wiſh to force them, they ſhall find their tombs; of this they have ſeveral times had fatal experience; but it might be poſſible that malevolence may profit by our momentary reverſes to excite troubles. You are magiſtrates of the people, you ought to know what are your duties, and your reſponſibility: it is in difficult moments that our faculties ought to be enlarged, and that our devotion ought to be unlimited: we muſt ſet the example of ſacrifices.

"Prepare your fellow citizens to defend themſelves with the energy of a free people, ſhould our ſacred territory be profaned: let every man become a ſoldier; let every thing be uſed for arms, ſhould we be in want of them; our mountains, our poſitions, place us in a ſtate to defend ourſelves with our ſingle means; we ſhould be invincible, for it is our freedom that we defend. At your voice, let that love of your country, which produced our firſt ſucceſſes, awake in all arts; let every one riſe, and be ready to obey that terrible cry, which I am about to cauſe to be heard.—TO ARMS!

"Health and Fraternity, G. FAUCHET."

Whatever objects Melas had in view, by purſuing Suchet, he was evidently promoting thoſe of Buonaparté; for every ſtep his troops took towards the department of the Var led him from the grand ſource of miſchief that was preparing againſt him, and

which he ought to have been preſent to fruſtrate. It was certainly of conſequence to prevent any kind of communication between Maſſena and Suchet; but, with a powerful Engliſh fleet in the gulph of Genoa, it would only have been neceſſary to ſecure the *Col de Tende* to have anſwered that purpoſe; and a ſmall force acting with an energy ſimilar to that of Suchet and his corps, would have ſecured that paſs.

Whether it was the genius of the Conſul, or of the Miniſter of War, that planned the campaign, has been a matter of diſpute among their reſpective friends; but theſe are ſubjects of contention that the real friends of France would never enter into. The arrangement itſelf evinced ſo much brilliancy of talent, and its execution ſo much military ſkill, that the competitors would loſe no part of their credit, if they were to admit that the united geniuſes of Carnot, Moreau, and Buonaparté, had all contributed in the planing and executing ſuch a grand deſign.

The power of the Allies was now entirely divided. A glance on the map, ſhews the armies of Melas and Kray, as it were, at the two extremities of a tranverſe line, of immenſe length, and the French army placed between them: not contenting itſelf with the nibbling warfare of dividing ſuch corps as thoſe of Maſſena and Suchet, but preparing itſelf to diſſolve the whole power of the Confederacy, andlay it proſtrate at the foot of France.

General Kerry

Pub. by M. Jones Aprilis

CHAPTER XIV.

Extraordinary military Preparations.—Paſſage of Mount St. Bernard.—Aoſte and Chatillon taken.—Difficulties at Fort de Barre and the Rock Albaredo.—Labours and Fatigues of the Conſul.—Ivrea, Romagno, and Vercelli taken.

THE Army of Reſerve, led on by General Laſnes, commander of the vanguard, ſaw everywhere flying before it the terrified inhabitants, who, alarmed at the diſtant view of ſo many ſoldiers, deſerted their abodes and ſought ſhelter among the rocks of ice and ſnow. They had already reached St. Peter, at the verge of the great mountain St. Bernard, on the 15th of May, General Berthier acting as commander in chief, or, rather, as Buonaparté's lieutenant. At St. Peter the whole park of artillery and ammunition was collected; but of what uſe was it to the army? they had to meet the enemy on the other ſide of the Alps; and, if Hanibal had croſſed theſe mountains before, it was becauſe he had not ſuch heavy and embarraſſing ordnance to tranſport.

The height of the mountain, over which it was neceſſary for them to paſs, was one thouſand eight hundred feet above the level of the ſea: it requires two days to climb to the top of it; not becauſe of its height, but on account of the ice, which conſtantly envelopes it.

The naturaliſts who travel among theſe mountains furniſh themſelves with a long ſtick, a hatchet, and cramp-irons, to prevent them from ſliding: it is alſo neceſſary to be provided with food and with guides.

In ſummer as well as in winter theſe almoſt inacceſſible rocks ſwallow up many an incautious traveller who has the temerity to ſtray among them: ſtupendous blocks of ice ſometimes roll from the top of Mount Voland, capable of burying two hundred perſons!

Upon the Great St. Bernard is a monaſtery of Bernardins—a religious order of men, who are perfectly ſatisfied with three months of ſummer and three hours of fine weather in a day, during this fleeting ſeaſon, in exchange for the numerous privations that they are obliged to ſuffer in this dreary abode, in conſequence of its affording them unuſual opportunities of doing good.

The monaſtery has much the appearance of a large inn; and there are, beſide, at a ſmall diſtance, two other houſes, which depend upon it. Here, as at many convents on the continent, are good ſtores of every thing agreeable and comfortable, accompanied with ſuavity and kindneſs, which money cannot ſo well procure when it is exchanged againſt, as articles of barter.

Among the ingenious acts of benevolence that theſe voluntary exiles practiſe, for the benefit of their fellow creatures, is the pains they take in inſtructing the canine ſpecies to alleviate and reduce the number of accidents peculiar to the vicinity. Morning and evening the dogs of the monaſtery are ſent out to explore the frozen caverns of the heights; and if, in their journies of diſcovery, they hear the cries of any unfortunate creature, they run towards the ſpot, expreſs their joy, and exert all the powers of their inſtinct to encourage the hopes of the engulphed ſufferers to expect aſſiſtance. They haſten back to the

convent, and, with an air of diſquietude, announce what they have ſeen: upon ſuch occaſions a ſmall baſket is faſtened round the dog's neck, filled with food proper for reanimating life, and proper perſons are diſpatched with the ſagacious meſſenger to aſſiſt in ſnatching the unfortunate creatures from deſtruction.

The curioſity of the French, and the conſternation of the inhabitants at their approach, filled many a craving aperture in theſe yawning gulphs with unexpected death. It was ſoon reported in the camp that the chapel was filled with dead bodies, that the dogs had diſcovered in the ſnow: a ſenſe of danger made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon the minds of the French, that they careſſed theſe dogs with ſuch emotions of pleaſure as at once beſpoke their apprehenſions and gratitude.

The ſight and deſcription of this mountain was, of itſelf, enough to ſubdue the hardieſt veteran, without his poſſeſſing a French imagination to magnify the dangers. The cold is exceſſive, even in the middle of ſummer; not a tree, or even a ſmall ſhrub, is there to remind one of the empire of vegetation; no herb nor green leaf offers a pleaſing verdure: birds never haunt theſe regions or repoſe in them from wearineſs of flight! It has pleaſed nature to leave this part wild and barren: a vaſt extent of ſnow, on every ſide, yields a melancholy and monotonous proſpect: rocks of a greyiſh colour, great heaps of ice—an immenſe perſpective of mountains in a chain, always white, and a frightful ſilence! from the contemplation of all which the mind is never interrupted but by the ſight of clouds, that either appear to precipitate themſelves at the foot of the mountain or to ſurround you en-

tirely. Such are the gloomy beauties which are to be ſeen in the face of nature by travellers who viſit theſe elevated points of our hemiſphere.

Who could believe that men have conſented to aſſociate in theſe high mountain-tops, and make it their principal occupation to ſuccour the unfortunate who are in danger of periſhing, and who often do periſh, in theſe dangerous paſſes!

Whenever the winds, the rain, the hail, or the ſnow, have, during winter, covered or ſpoiled the footpath, the guides of the country come with their mules, in order to diſcover the traces; and then, to reſtore it, they paſs and repaſs over it, till it is again practicable; this operation continues ſometimes four or five days: if it happens at that time, which is ſometimes the caſe, that a froſt ſets in, as ſevere as it can be in Ruſſia, that favourable moment is ſeized for proviſioning the monaſtery.

During the ſummer this paſſage is not much leſs difficult and dangerous: the rains penetrating into the mountains of ſnow melt them, in a manner ſcarcely viſible; large cavities are formed therein, over which the traveller walks, unaware; until, all on a ſudden, a gulph opens under his ſteps, and occaſions him to diſappear in the twinkling of an eye! A hard froſt is preferred, becauſe any one may then ſafely travel over the ſnow.

At two hundred paces below the convent is ſituated a lake, the depth of which is not known, and which is ſcarcely ever thawed: the ſnow collects in heaps, and covers in ſuch a manner the frozen ſurface of theſe paſſages, that travellers often ſlide under it without being able to avoid it. Till this period of time neither artillery nor ammunition had croſſed either

mountain: however, it became neceſſary to conſider the queſtion, What is an army, in the preſent day, without artillery? its neceſſity in this reſpect was imperious. In vain did infinite obſtacles preſent themſelves to frighten the moſt ardent imaginations: everything was foreſeen by the Genius which conceived this daring enterpriſe, and everything was contrived to carry it into full execution.

The artillery corps immediately ſet about diſmounting the cannon, caiſſoons, forges, &c. piecemeal. Gaſſendi, Inſpector of Ordnance, was ordered to hollow a number of the trunks of trees after the nature of troughs, in which the pieces of cannon might ſafely ſlide, and which five or ſix hundred men, according to the weight of metal, were appropriated to draw up theſe tremendous heights: the wheels were carried by hand upon poles; and ſledges, made expreſsly for the purpoſe, at Auxonne, conveyed the axletrees and the empty caiſſoons; and, laſtly, mules were loaded with ammunition in boxes made of fir.

In order to encourage this very arduous labour, from four to five hundred livres were offered for every cannon, with its ammunition, ſo conveyed: the exertion of a whole battalion was requiſite for the conveyance of one fieldpiece, with its neceſſary ammunition: one half of a regiment could only draw the load while the other half was obliged to carry the knapſacks, firelocks, cartridge-boxes, canteens, kettles, and, more eſpecially, five days proviſions, in bread, meat, ſalt, and biſcuit! The whole of theſe accoutrements and neceſſaries might make a weight of between ſixty and ſeventy pounds. The men yoked themſelves, about one hundred to a cable, and in this manner they dragged the cannon up the mountains

General Marmont commanded upon this memorable occaſion.

The heavy baggage was ſent back to Lauſanne, the Conſul himſelf only taking what might be deemed abſolutely neceſſary. The firſt diviſion of the army, commanded by General Watrin, followed the movement of the vanguard; the main body of the army followed at no great diſtance. They were obliged to aſcend one by one: nobody was tempted to endeavour to get before his comrade, as it might have occaſioned his being irrecoverably ſwallowed up in the ſnow. The head of the Indian file column halted every now-and-then, of which advantage was always taken by the ſoldiers to allay their thirſt, by ſoaking their biſcuits in the water of the melted ſnow; and, ſuch were the fatigues of the paſſage, that theſe refreſhments appeared to them quite delicious.

It took five hours to clamber as high as the monaſtery; at that time every one was indulged with a glaſs of wine. "This very liquor, though actually frozen (ſays Monſieur Petit) warmed us and recruited our ſtrength; no one, not even the moſt avaricious among us, would have exchanged that ſingle draught for all the gold in Mexico.

"We had ſtill a journey of ſix leagues to make, but the rapidity of the deſcent rendered thoſe eighteen miles truly terrible: at every ſtep we met with deep crevices, formed by the melting of ſnow; and it was in vain we held our horſes faſt by the cloſed reins of their bridles, that did not preſerve them from dangerous, and ſometimes fatal, ſlides: the men themſelves, in ſpite of all their precautions, often fell; and, whatever difficulties they ſuffered in recovering themſelves, they ſtill ran the riſk of drawing their horſes out of the path and periſhing with them."

Buonaparté entered the Monaſtery, accompanied by the prior of the Houſe of Convaleſcence, who had followed us; but he ſtaid there only an hour, when, on quitting it, he exhorted theſe reſpectable hermits to continue to deſerve well of humanity.

The Conſul's mules and horſes were in the train of the army; for his own part, being willing, no doubt, to rejoin it by the ſhorteſt road, he entered a path which ſome infantry purſued. Towards the middle of this march the deſcent was ſo ſteep that he was obliged to ſlide down it, upon his breech, from a height of about two hundred feet; and, in croſſing the lake before mentioned, he had very nearly been ſwallowed up by a collection of thawed ſnow. The holes, into which the ſoldiers fell every inſtant, rendered this part of their journey over the mountains more fatiguing than the aſcending them: they had commenced their march at midnight and did not arrive at the end of it till nine o'clock in the evening; for fourteen leagues they had ſcarcely eaten any food, yet extreme fatigue, and great want of ſleep, made them eaſily forget the badneſs of their ſupper.

Before Buonaparté aſcended the mountain he wrote to his brother Lucien, Miniſter of the Interior, a Letter, which arrived at Paris on the 23d of May, dated

"Markgni, May 18, at night.

"I am at the foot of the Great Alps, in the midſt of the Valais. The Great St. Bernard offered many obſtacles, which have been ſurmounted. The third of the artillery is in Italy: the army is deſcending by forced marches. Berthier is in Piedmont. In three days all will be over."

"BONAPARTE."

The advanced guard, under General Laſnes, took a few hours to refreſh their haraſſed bodies and marched

to attack Aoſte, capital of the dutchy of that name, and the firſt town in Piedmont. The inhabitants are a ſimple people, quite indifferent as to who governs them. An Hungarian battalion attempted to defend the town, but it was obliged to retire with loſs, when a deputation of the place ſet out to wait upon the Conſul with compliments of ſurrender.

From hence the army proceeded to Chatillon, a town alſo in the dutchy of Aoſte, ſituated on the Doria Baltea, three leagues South-eaſt of Aoſte. General Laſnes, in advancing towards it, was informed that the enemy was diſpoſed to make a reſiſtance on a drawbridge, conſtructed on a precipice, over which, ſo as to avoid this paſs, it was not poſſible for infantry to make their way. Without a moment's heſitation the chief of brigade, Fournier, ſprang forwards, and with the 12th Huſſars, attacked them in ſo briſk a manner, that in a ſhort time the force which had advanced to defend the paſs was overthrown or ſabred, and the paſſage cleared of every man of the enemy, who loſt 40 of Ferdinand's huſſars priſoners, with 200 infantry, and a three-pounder, which compoſed the whole of their artillery. The fugitives were purſued as far as Fort de Barre, having only bare time to raiſe the drawbridge after them. The impetuoſity of the French here led them into a miſtake, which decidedly proves, that, if they had been matched by an enemy any way their equal, either in vigilance or reſources, it would not have been difficult to have ſtopped their progreſs. In chooſing to paſs the fort they had taken the moſt dangerous routes. To communicate a juſt idea of the difficulties to be encountered at the fort, or

rather rock, de Barre; it is neceſſary only to deſcribe its military and geographical ſituation:

Under a military point of view, this rock ſtopped ſhort the whole army, and pent it up as it were in a narrow neck, where four days would have been ſufficient to have exhauſted the whole of their ſubſiſtence, and which the difficult and toilſome paſſage over Mount St. Bernard, had left no means of ſupplying. With reſpect to its geographical conſideration, nature, without any aid from art, had formed this rock of ſuch materials, that it might truly be conſidered as impregnable; and, to render its acceſſibility the more difficult, had conferred on it the form of a ſugar-loaf. The road is at its foot, which is watered by the Doria, a deep, rapid, and dangerous river, whoſe oppoſite bank is alſo formed of high rocks, inacceſſible to man, and which ſerve only for the habitation of marmots and ſcreechowls. To the left of the arch are ſeen other rocks, not leſs elevated than the former, but leſs impracticable, being even ſtrewed, here and there, with vines, to which the ſad inhabitants of this country have acceſs, by means of ſteps cut in the rocks.

There was but one of two courſes to purſue, that of taking the fort by aſſault, or of ſeeking for another paſſage, which, by avoiding the fort, might enable the army to purſue its route. Each of theſe meaſures appeared to bid equal defiance to force and ingenuity. But the genius of Buonaparté inſpired the whole body, and it was on this occaſion, more perhaps than on any other, proved, that *nothing is impoſſible to him who is reſolved to effect his object.*

Three companies of grenadiers poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſuburbs of the place, and lodged therein.

During the day they hid themſelves, that they might not be cannonaded by the guns of the fort. But, nevertheleſs, through the caſements they ſhot all thoſe who ſhewed themſelves through the embraſures and notches of the wall, and in this way greatly diſquieted the enemy.

It has already been obſerved, that art had left the fortification of the rock de Barre to nature entirely. Twenty-two pieces of cannon, a garriſon of 500 men, ſeveral mortars, with ſome advanced works, defended its approach, which the above means rendered very difficult.

About eleven o'clock at night, by the light of the moon, the chief of brigade of the 56th, at the head of ſeveral companies of grenadiers, marched ſilently acroſs the great blocks of ſtone and rock ſcattered here and there, reached the palliſades, climbed over them, amidſt a ſhower of balls, and forced the enemy, with the bayonet at their backs, from work to work, till, full of terror, they retired in diſorder within the caſtle; all this while the cannon was thundering, and the firing of the muſketry inceſſant. Caniſter ſhot, grenades, and howitzers, for ſome time checked the impetuoſity of the French. Rollers from the top of the parapet were thrown down with precipitancy upon the aſſailants, and cruſhed many to death on the ſpot; the chief of brigade himſelf was mortally wounded in this manner. In this ſituation a retreat was thought adviſeable: it was effected without confuſion, but the French had to regret the loſs of a number of intrepid ſoldiers, killed or badly wounded.

It was now abſolutely neceſſary to avoid the fort. By dint of perſeverence in reſearch, it was found,

after clambering from one flight of ſteps to another, that the rock called Albaredo was to be eſcaladed, whence the men might, though with inconceivable difficulty, deſcend again, or rather roll down, on the other ſide. All the while they aſcended thoſe ſteps, a battery played upon them unceaſingly: they took the precaution, as faſt as they got up, to incline ten or twelve paces, ſheltered in ſome degree from the enemy's ſhot. That was not all they had to do; for, before they had aſcended three parts of the way, they were openly expoſed during the ſpace of ten minutes; and this inconvenience ſuggeſted the expediency of raiſing a light piece of four-pound ordinance to the place, which, by incredible efforts, was accompliſhed, through a cleft in the rock, though the height was 1,200 feet. This ſingle, but ſerviceable gun, fired unceaſingly upon the enemy's battery, which it fully expoſed and commanded. The advanced guard in this manner aſcended the rock, though not without extreme difficulty, ſince they were obliged to follow one by one. Here, as on Mount St. Bernard, the troops were obliged to lie upon their arms.

The cavalry were ſtill more fatigued than the infantry, for the horſes were obliged, like the native goats, to leap from ſtone to ſtone; and, aſtoniſhing as it is to relate, it is not the leſs true, that, guided by a powerful and unerring inſtinct, they knew how to avoid the misfortune of rolling headlong down the dreadful precipices! nevertheleſs, in this way, the French loſt a number of theſe valuable creatures, as well as ſome mules.

The aſcending place of the rock of Albaredo was leſs practicable than Mount Saint Bernard, it

was, therefore, deemed indiſpenſible to make uſe of the ſuburbs or baſſeville, coſt what it might, with reſpect to its expoſure. Precautions, unheard of before, were taken for the marching through it. Haybands were twiſted round the wheels of all the carriages, and the paved road covered with dung, in order to deaden their ſound as they proceeded. Thirty men were harneſſed, one before another, to a piece of ordnance, or ammunition tumbril, ready to ſeize the moment when they might make the leaſt noiſe poſſible: but ſometimes the enemy was aware of what was doing, and would fire upon them, many were killed or wounded. The French poſted a cannon in the belfry of the church, in the ſuburbs, which was able to batter in breach, and effectually to demoliſh a tower above the gate of the caſtle: but the force which defended it, ſeeing themſelves deprived of every help, and fearing an aſſault, ſurrendered priſoners of war.

The Firſt Conſul went ſeveral times, accompanied by General Berthier, to view the works of the enemy. He aſcended the mountain on foot, and continued ſeveral hours upon its ſummit, whence the eye could eaſily and fully ſurvey the caſtle. Greatly fatigued by the laborious aſcent, and rendered faint by the extreme heat of the weather, he laid himſelf down in the open air, and fell aſleep. Each of the ſoldiers, as they filed before him, contemplated his perſon with peculiar intereſt, and took particular care not to interrupt that repoſe ſo neceſſary to his exiſtence, and, which had, as it were, been forced upon him.

Having ſurmounted theſe dangers and difficulties, a diviſion under General Boudet proceeded to Ivrea,

and reached that place on the 23d of May. The enemy had a garriſon in the citadel, which ſeemed at firſt determined to defend the town, but they were too few in number to reſiſt the vaſt power that was advancing againſt them. The French took 14 pieces of cannon, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition, and 200 priſoners, beſides twice that number in purſuing them from thence towards Turin.

The Marquiſate in which Ivrea is ſituated was founded by Charlemagne. It is ſituated partly in a plain, and partly on a hill, and contains about 7,000 inhabitants. There are ſtill ſome remains of an ancient fortreſs, called Il Caſtellazzo, ſuppoſed to have been built by Ardouin, firſt marquis of Ivrea. Its inhabitants are the deſcendants of a Roman colony, ſent thither during the ſixth Conſulſhip of Marius. It is about eight leagues North of Turin.

The main army having climbed over the mountain of Albaredo, in the manner deſcribed, filed off by this town, which ſeaſonably furniſhed the troops with bread, wine, meat, and rice, objects ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence. No ſooner were they ſupplied with theſe articles, than their hearts were again elated with joy; and the preſent abundance effaced the remembrance of the cruel hardſhips and privations they had endured.

Here it will be proper to relate an occurrence, which will ſhew, in a ſtriking manner, how little the Allies ſeem to have been prepared for the diſaſters which were ſuſpended over their heads.

Four or five thouſand of the fugitive Auſtrians, aſſembled in haſte from Turin and the adjacent gar-

risons, united themselves to about 2,000, whom the French had driven before them the day before, and took up a position at Romagno, where they intrenched themselves. They were covered by a deep river, the bridge of which had not been cut down, owing, as it is imagined, to the contempt in which they held the invading army, from entire ignorance of its force as well as designs. They said openly among themselves that the report of Buonaparté commanding this army in person was false; that it was an adventurer, who resembled him, or it might be one of his brothers, who had put himself at the head of a collection of Italian refugees, without artillery, and without cavalry, who were throwing themselves away, to turn or divert their main operations before Genoa. One part of them boasted beside, that they only feigned to retreat, in order to draw the French into more open ground, to cut them with more ease to pieces.

The next day General Lasnes, at the head of his advanced guard, put an end to their ridiculous stories and their vain hopes together. Romagno was carried by the bayonet; the bridge and the redoubts were soon cleared: the dead and the wounded were left on the spot, and the fugitives were again pursued in various directions. This was a dearly paid-for lesson they acquired of the bravery of those troops they had so much despised a little while before. Their cavalry, indeed, taking advantage of an open space, and a favourable *terrein*, faced about, charged the French infantry, which, from too much ardour in the pursuit, had separated; but, the 11th and 12th demi-brigades of the hussars were near at hand, united to the 16th light, to the 28th and 44th

of the line, and entirely drove off the enemy towards Turin.

Buonaparté, in order the better to conceal his deſigns, on the 26th of May, cauſed two diviſions to menace Turin, whilſt the advanced guard, under General Laſnes, immediately proceeded to the Chiuſſella and the Po, which obliged the enemy to croſs the latter, where they took up a poſition on its right bank: thus, while the attention of the Auſtrians was occupied by the movements of theſe corps, the diviſion of cavalry, under the orders of General Murat, took the route of Milan, and, on the 27th of May, entered Vercelli.

On the Eaſtern border of Piedmont, affairs were now brought preciſely into that ſtate that the Conſul wiſhed. The whole of Italy was now open to him, and he had a much ſhorter diſtance between him and Milan than his enemy had to reach him, even if he were diſpoſed to raiſe the ſiege of Genoa to attack him.

CHAPTER XV.

Preparations in the Var to meet General Melas.—Intelligence from Maſſena.—An Inſurrection in Corſica.—Capture of the Genereux and the Guilleaume Tell.—Hopes, Pleaſures, and Diſappointments, of the Allies.—Diſpoſition of the French Forces.

GENERAL Melas continued to purſue the French and to advance towards the Var, in hopes of inducing the diſcontented Royaliſts of the South to raiſe an inſurrection and employ the forces of General Suchet on that ſide the river: the blockade of Genoa was, in the meantime, entruſted to Generals Ott and Hohenzollern. The alarms of the French, however, hardly extended beyond Antibes; for Carnot had provided a force of from fifteen to twenty thouſand troops, principally formed of conſcripts newly enliſted, who were to enter the Ligurian Republic by that frontier, under the command of Generals St. Hilaire and Rochambeau. Some few ſanguine ſpirits —half Royaliſts—half Jacobins, did raiſe the ſtandard of inſurrection, but they were inſtantly taken and ſhot; and Suchet began to prepare for ſhutting Melas up in Nice, at leaſt as ſecurely as Maſſena was ſhut up at Genoa.

The wiſdom of the French Government was evinced in this inſtance, not only in having made all the ſuperior generals acquainted with the great object which their efforts were to effect, but in having eſtabliſhed the beſt poſſible communication with each, ſo as to give a ſuperior degree of rapidity to all their motions. Thus Suchet, though at ſo great a diſtance

from the Army of Reſerve, knew all that it was doing, by the facility of telegraphic diſpatches, which Government contrived to ſend upon all occaſions where local obſtructions did not interpoſe; and thus Maſſena, who was ſo ſurrounded, both on the land and ſea ſide, as to be expoſed to all the diſtreſſes of famine, received a packet-boat, with intelligence whenever the Britiſh cruiſers were driven off the ſhore.

On the 6th of May General St. Hilaire wrote to Buonaparté, from his

"Head Quarters at Marseilles.

"CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,

"The news I have received from the army, dated the 3d, informs me, that the general in chief, Maſſena, defends himſelf like a lion at Genoa; that the enemy dare not block him in, except by diſtant poſitions: he has made a ſortie, and killed 800 Auſtrians and taken 1,200 priſoners.

"Five ſhips, laden with grain, have arrived at Genoa, and other ſmall veſſels are daily arriving. The general in chief has anſwered a flag of truce, ſent by the enemy, 'That, while he has an ounce of bread to eat, or a drop of blood in his veins, he will fight; and that he will ſooner bury himſelf in the ruins of Genoa than abandon it to the enemy!' The Ligurians perform wonders.

"Health and reſpect,

"ST. HILAIRE."

The ſpirited conduct of Maſſena was not merely founded upon his hopes of the Firſt Conſul being able to raiſe the ſiege by the middle of June, but that he ſhould be ſure of a ſupply from Corſica, that would enable him to hold out till that time.

The local ſituation of that iſland had induced the French Government to form a depôt there, with a

view of keeping a ſmall number of feluccas always loaded with proviſions, ready to elude the blockade, whenever the contrary currents and ſtill calms might prevent Lord Keith's veſſels from ſtretching to the Eaſtward. Salicette, the old friend and early patron of the Conſul, was appointed to the command of Corſica, with a general's commiſſion, and the ſupply of the magazine was entruſted to his adminiſtration.

Salicette ſoon found that he had undertaken a miſſion of conſiderable difficulty; for the vigilance of the Engliſh prevented ſuccours ever reaching Corſica from the coaſt of France; and it was known, by way of Leghorn, that Lord Keith had been informed, as early as the 24th of April, that Genoa had only fourteen days proviſions in the city.

The Engliſh admiral had reſolved that the blockade ſhould not be prolonged by the number of mouths being diminiſhed, and, therefore, diſpatched a cartel to the Genoeſe, to acquaint them, that he had ordered all the Engliſh commanders to ſeize any veſſels that ſhould attempt to bring fugitives out of the city; thus making the egreſs of a neutral veſſel an act of hoſtility, if it ſhould have a ſingle individual on board more than might be named on its own muſter-roll.

Urgency compelled Salicette to collect all the proviſions that Corſica itſelf poſſeſſed for the national magazines; and, in his zeal, he did not bear in mind, that the iſland had already been exhauſted, to ſupply Malta with all that could be ſpared, to enable that fortreſs alſo to reſiſt an Engliſh blockade: he, therefore excited the apprehenſions of the inhabitants, who feared that they ſhould ſee all their food tranſported, to feed others, and be reduced to ſtarvation themſelves.

General Saliceti.

Pub. by M. Jones, April 1807.

An insurrection was the consequence, and General Salicette was obliged to put himself at the head of his troops. The Corsicans got the advantage in several skirmishes; and, instead of being able to supply Massena, our commissary-general was obliged to write to that commander for a reinforcement, to deliver him out of Bastia, where he had been obliged to shut himself up

The English took a felucca, which had a courier on board with dispatches from General Massena, stating, that the Austrians and English kept him shut up so close that he was destitute of succours for himself. The two generals were now so completely cut off from each other that the Corsicans were left to eat their own provisions in quiet, and order was restored in the island.

Things were all going on as prosperously in the Mediterranean and its neighbourhood as the Allies could desire.

The fortress of *La Valette*, in the Island of Malta, still held out, and the French, occasionally, got in a small vessel with provisions; but it was clear that it would not be able to hold out long; for a communication had taken place between Lord Nelson, the British admiral, and the commandant, which had given the latter a clearer insight into his real situation. His Lordship urged the impropriety of sustaining so long a siege, and suffering so many miseries, after it was proved to be impossible that any further succour could enter the port of Malta; assuring him, that a fleet of ships, lately sent from France, had all been either taken or sunk.

The Commandant, who doubted the intelligence, was permitted to send some of his officers to Syracuse

to inſpect the captured veſſels, among which was the Genereux, of 74 guns, Admiral Perrée, who had been ſo fortunate as to eſcape from Egypt and get appointed commander in chief of the French force in the Mediterranean.

The confirmation of this diſaſtrous intelligence, had obliged another French man of war to put herſelf to the hazard of being taken, and the Engliſh had captured her alſo. It will be recollected, that, after the defeat of the French fleet by Lord Nelſon, at the mouth of the Nile, and whilſt the ſhattered wrecks were yet blazing on the ſurface of the ocean, two men of war ſet ſail and made their eſcape. Theſe two ſhips were the Genereux of 74 guns, and the Guillaume Tell of 86, the latter of which got ſafe into the port of Malta, and had continued there ever ſince, partly with a view to ſhelter herſelf from the Engliſh, and partly with a view to aſſiſt in the defence of the place. The almoſt certainty of not being able to re-victual the place, rendered it indiſpenſible that ſhe ſhould no longer exhauſt the proviſions; and, therefore, it was determined that ſhe ſhould take 1,000 men on board, and endeavour to ſave himſelf under the command of Admiral Decres. She did ſo, and was met immediately by the Engliſh ſhips, Foudroyant, Lion, and Penelope, with whom ſhe fought gallantly for three hours and a half, and then ſtruck to the Lion, Captain Manly Dixon.

Theſe occurrences forming a kind of auxilliaries to the ſucceſſes of General Melas among the Maritime Alps, the Allies, and their agents, began to be as merry as if they had already gathered all the laurels of the war. Mr. Jackſon, the Britiſh miniſter

at Turin, does not appear to have been more enthuſiaſtic than any of his friends upon the occaſion; and, therefore, his letter to Lord Grenville, the then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, will ſerve to ſhew what were the feelings of them all:

"My Lord,

"It is with *infinite ſatisfaction* that I can inform your Lordſhip of the entire evacuation of the Riviere of Genoa, and the country of Nice, by the French troops under Suchet, the remains of which have paſſed the Var. Nice, with its *two caſtles*, was yeſterday occupied by the Imperial troops, under the orders of General Kneſewich.

"General Kaim, the commander in chief here, has this moment, ſent intelligence to the Government of this *joyful* event. I have the honour to be,

"T. Jackson."

"Turin, May 12th, 1800."

At the very moment when this Letter was being written at Turin, the capital of Piedmont, Buonaparté was on the border of the principality, contriving his new ammunition machinery and preparing to enter it; and, in four days afterwards, his advanced guard was in the next town to Mr. Jackſon! It was now time to ſend news to General Melas:—tidings from him could afford no more pleaſure. The triumph, in this inſtance, was of ſuch a ſhort duration, and the joy ſo momentary, that, when Mr. Jackſon's Letter was made public in England, the ſame journals that communicated it to their readers gave them alſo an account, upon the ſame ſheet, of General Melas having diſcovered his miſtake in advancing upon Nice, and of his having gone back a great deal faſter than he came.

A Letter from Antibes, dated May 15th, ſtated

the fact as follows: "The Auſtrians have retreated from Nice; they entered on the 11th at three in the afternoon, our troops having retreated within the antient French limit. On the 14th, General Melas arrived with ten or twelve thouſand troops: we expected to be attacked, and were under arms all night; but, to our great aſtoniſhment, at day-break, we beheld the Auſtrian columns defiling acroſs the mountains towards Coni. This precipitate retreat could only be occaſioned by intelligence received of the movements of our Army of Reſerve in Piedmont."

A ſmall garriſon was left behind at Nice, and, indeed, there were ſo many garriſons occupied by the Auſtrians throughout Italy, that ſmall draughts being made from each, a few corps were formed between Turin and Alexandria, about the 20th of the month, which encouraged General Melas to fix his head-quarters there, and to make an appearance of being determined to maintain his poſt.

Orders were given to General Ott to puſh the ſiege of Genoa with vigour; and the Engliſh, in order to keep Suchet from croſſing the Var, appeared off the coaſt between Marſeilles and Toulon, and evinced a diſpoſition to effect a landing.

Whilſt the confuſion, that marked all the operations of the Auſtrians, was too evident to eſcape the notice of the leaſt attentive, the concert that gave effect to every meaſure of the French, was equally apparent. The troops diſpatched by General Moreau to join the Conſul, timed their march ſo, that they were at Altorf, near St. Gothard, on the ſame day that the Army of Reſerve arrived at Ivrea, which prevented the Auſtrian General, Davidovich, from

croſſing the Semplon, to unite with the Auſtrians in Milan.

General Mouncey, who commanded this force, puſhed on his advanced guard by St. Gothard into the Italian Bailiwicks, under General Lepoype, and General Lorge's diviſion drove the Auſtrians from Aviola, whilſt he himſelf, iſſued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Bellinzona and Lagano, denouncing ſevere puniſhments againſt any perſons who ſhould quit their cuſtomary labours; deſigning, no doubt, to prevent a repetition of thoſe inſurrections from which the French ſuffered ſo much the preceding year, when they were purſued through the ſame country by Suwarrow.

After paſſing St. Gothard, on the 26th of May, General Mouncey engaged the Auſtrian General Davidovich, and drove him to the Lago-Maggiore, advancing with the utmoſt rapidity upon Domo d'Oſella.

All the movements of the French, hitherto, may be conſidered as preparations for collecting a force together, that it might be ready for action: that end was now accompliſhed, and the principal concern of Buonaparté, in conſequence, was, to continue that deception, which had already miſled the Auſtrians as to his real object, and, by diſtracting their attention, to weaken their power.

It will be recollected, that, whilſt General Laſnes was at Remagno, and General Murat at Vercelli, the Auſtrians had taken a poſition on the right bank of the Po, apparently with a deſign of diſputing the ground between that river and Milan.

It was of much conſequence to Buonaparté that thoſe forces ſhould not accumulate; for a ſpirited reſiſtance on the part of the Auſtrians at Milan would

have afforded General Davidovich an opportunity of feeding the garriſon with freſh ſupplies of troops, by way of the Griſons and the Valtelline, and have kept the French army at bay till the ſcattered reſources of Melas had been collected together. General Turreau was, therefore, ordered to proceed to Suſa and the Brunette, on the Weſt of the Doria, which could not fail to alarm Turin. The heights at the poſt of Gravieres were planted with cannon, and ſurrounded with intrenchments; the adjutant general Liaban marched, with 950 light infantry, to carry the works by aſſault, whilſt General Turreau, with three companies of carabineers, four of grenadiers, one howitzer, and an eight-pounder, ſupported the attack. The engagement was obſtinate and bloody, and the victory continued long doubtful. During the action 100 pioneers arrived, to aid the French, at length they ſucceeded in turning the fort of St. Francis, which gave them a great advantage over the enemy, and compelled him to capitulate. In this engagement, General Turreau took 1,500 priſoners and 800 muſkets, beſide a great quantity of proviſions and ammunition; and, what was more important, got command of the whole country from Mount Cenis to Turin.

General Laſne's corps continued its march Southward towards the Po, as if with a deſign to take up a poſition at Aſti; and the Auſtrians concluded, from theſe movements, that the Conſul was about to take the moſt ſuitable ſtations for intercepting the troops and ſupplies coming from Nice to Turin.

Thoſe who recollect the ſtrenuous exertions of General Suwarrow, and the Auſtrians under his command, in the preceding campaign, to get poſ-

ſeſſion of Genoa, when they were gallantly reſiſted by Moreau upon this very ſpot, will not be ſurpriſed that General Melas ſuſpected Buonaparté of an intention to proceed that way, for the purpoſe of raiſing the ſiege; and if the Conſul received credit for the wiſdom of his plan, it will not be at the expenſe of his antagoniſt's reputation.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Auſtrians evacuate Novarra.—The French advance to the Teſſino.—Paſſage of the River.—Attempt of General Laudon to ſtop the Progreſs of the French.—Capture of Milan.—Reception of the Conſul by the Milaneſe.—Obſervations on the City.—A proviſionary Government appointed.—The Army diſtributed in ſeveral Directions.—Captures.—Skirmiſhes.—Preparations for paſſing the Po.—Battles of Stradella and Montebello.—Genoa taken by the Auſtrians.—Capitulation ſigned by Ott, Keith, and Maſſena.

IN conſequence of ſuppoſing that Buonaparté intended to proceed Southward immediately, the Auſtrians gave orders for the evacuation of Novarra, a place of ſo much importance, that, when General Suwarrow entered Italy, he ſent his advanced guard forward from Pavia to take poſſeſſion of it; and which, circumſtanced as the French were at the time we are treating, was the only fortreſs between them and Milan.

The claſhing of councils did as much for the French as the ſucceſs of their arms. They had determined to take the preciſe route that the enemy was leaving open to them; and if the generals had the misfortune to err in their judgments, the ſoldiers had the conſolation of ſaving their lives.

The French head-quarters were advanced to Vercelli, General Laſne continued a day at Chivaſſo, (or Chiraſco) manœuvring upon the Po, and collecting boats, as if to croſs the river. Here the

Auſtrian infantry collected, to oppoſe the paſſage, but at night General Laſne filed off for Vercelli.

Whilſt General Laſne was practiſing his *ruſe de guerre* at Chivaſſo, the reſt of the French army was coming up to head-quarters, and different corps were engaged in diſlodging the enemy from the faſtneſſes in the vicinity of the Seſſia and Teſſino. The Italian legion, commanded by General Lechi, advanced to Riva, and encountered a conſiderable body of the enemy at Capello, whom they diſlodged, and then proceeded to Varello. At this latter place, they found the legion of Rohan, 600 ſtrong, occupying a poſition ſtrongly intrenched, and defended with cannon. General Lechi's corps fought with great bravery, and, after ſuffering conſiderable loſs in killed and wounded, took 350 priſoners from the enemy, beſide cannon and ammunition. Having chaced the Auſtrians from the banks of the Seſſia, the Italian corps proceeded down the river and alſo joined the army.

General Murat had only ſtaid long enough at Vercelli to conſtruct a bridge upon the Seſſia, in lieu of one which the Auſtrians had burnt, and then puſhed on to Novarra, which he reached within a few hours after the enemy had evacuated it. They took poſſeſſion of that place and left it at midnight, as many diviſions had already advanced, and attended with the utmoſt impatience upon the banks of the Teſſino, waiting for the ſignal to croſs it. General Murat's object was, to perſuade the Auſtrians that he ſhould croſs at Voltegio. The rapidity of the river had deſtroyed the bridge of boats; and the misfortune was increaſed by their being without the means of conſtructing another. Theſe were obſta-

cles ſufficient to have ſtopped the progreſs of any other than a French army. A few crazy wherries or barges, were collected, in which the ſoldiers embarked, and ſhovels ſerved for oars. Some carabineers of the 6th light infantry, darted forward, under the protection of a well-directed fire of muſketry, and a few pieces of cannon; the grenadiers of the 28th followed, and the oppoſite bank was preſently cleared of the enemy. As they had leſs infantry than cavalry, they were obliged to quit the marſhes, as alſo ſome oſier fields, and a little wood, which had incommoded them more than it had protected them.

Buffarolo was the principle point againſt which the chief efforts were directed; the paſſage was effected a league lower, on the Teſſino. The French troops menaced the Auſtrians with taking them in the rear: finding themſelves expoſed to this danger, they thought it prudent to retire; on which General Duheſme purſued them with eagerneſs into the village of Turbigo, the main ſtreet of which was ſufficiently large to allow the cavalry to act with good effect. At this preciſe moment, the Auſtrian general, Laudon, who had juſt returned from Genoa, being either appriſed of their weakneſs, or deſirous of learning their ſtrength, led on, at full gallop, for more than ſix miles, two cavalry diviſions of Buffy's legion; and then, falling upon the French grenadiers, re-poſſeſſed himſelf of the village, and made about fifty or ſixty priſoners; the remainder of the French force, under General Mounier, rallied without loſs of time at the entrance of the marſh, and ſtopped his further progreſs. The Auſtrian general retreated precipitately, after loſing 200 killed and 400 taken priſoners.

General Murat learned that the enemy had concealed ſome boats in a ſmall arm of the Teſſino, at Galeate, and ordered ſome artillery, cavalry, and the 70th demi-brigade, to repair to that place. On the 31ſt of May, it was attacked, and the Auſtrians defended it with two howitzers, three eleven-pounders, and a conſtant fire of grape. The demi-brigade effected the object of the attack, by getting poſſeſſion of the boats, which they carried over to the other arm of the river upon their ſhoulders.

The enemy had brought ſome artillery to the bank of the river, and the grenadiers got poſſeſſion of a woody iſle, by wading up to the middle in water, from whence, by an advantageous fire, they obliged the artillery to withdraw.

Buonaparté arrived on the 31ſt of May, at the bank of the Teſſino, and made a very military ſhew of cavalry, with which, and ſome pieces of cannon, he reached the oppoſite ſide on the ſame evening. Some of the villagers had brought a few boats by this time, and the troops paſſed over in great numbers. General Mounier poſſeſſed himſelf of an advantageous poſition along the Grand Naviglio; and the enemy fell back on the village of Turbigo. The cavalry was diſpoſed of in a manner to haraſs the Auſtrians from the lake of Como to Vegevano.

The road to Milan was perfectly open to General Murat, after the retreat of Laudon; and the Chief Conſul, with the whole of the ſtaff, followed cloſe upon his diviſion. The account of the battle of Marengo, ſaid to be tranſlated from the French of Monſieur Petit, horſe grenadier in the Conſular guard, ſtates, that the Auſtrians "heſitated whether

they ſhould defend the place, in the hope of receiving ſuccours, or ſhut themſelves up in the citadel; and that a tremendous ſtorm of rain falling, which ſoaked every man to the ſkin; during the moment of their indeciſion, the Conſul and his ſtaff, were obliged to take ſhelter in a ſmall farm by the road ſide." However either of theſe anecdotes may accord with the uſual ſpirit and proweſs of the reſpective parties, it is certain that no reſiſtance was made to the entrance of the French into the city, for its defenders did ſhut themſelves up in the citadel, and it was inveſted by General Murat immediately.

The magiſtracy waited upon the Conſul with the keys, and the moſt reſpectable people of the city, accompanied by a brilliant and elegant aſſemblage of ladies, attended to greet him on his arrival, whilſt the populace followed, and all joined in the enthuſiaſtic cry of *Vive Buonaparté! vivent les François!* The nearer they approached to the town the greater was the croud. At length they arrived within the gates of this diſtinguiſhed capital of the Milaneſe. The windows lined with beautiful Italian women, the rich ſhops ſuffered to remain open, teſtified, in the ſtrongeſt manner, how great was the confidence of the people in the French army: in fact, the Italians were very numerous who favoured the French; and the Auſtrians and Ruſſians rendered themſelves particularly odious in this city, by the ſeverities they had inflicted for political opinions.

The pride of the conquerors was highly gratified by the fine *coup-d'œil,* preſented to them the moment they had reached the Place du Dôme; and here the Hero who had led them on enjoyed the ſublime trait which the gratitude of a numerous people exhi-

bited. The vaſt ſpace was made to ring with the reiterated ſhouts of *Vive General Buonaparté! vive l'Armée Françoiſe!* Theſe acclamations penetrated their very ſouls and inſpired them with new courage.

General Murat, with his diviſion of cavalry and the infantry of the advanced guard, ſurrounded the citadel, in which four thouſand of the enemy were beſieged.

After theſe precautions the Conſul betook himſelf to the palace of the Archduke, in the great ſquare; which was found ſo deſtitute as not to afford a ſingle faggot of wood to dry his clothes by!

Everywhere the national cockade had been ſubſtituted for the Auſtrian. Three thouſand ſick and wounded were in the hoſpitals, among whom were ſeveral Frenchmen. A great number of Ciſalpine refugees entered with the French, who had been told a fortnight before of the certainty of this capture. A circumſtance, which the friends of peaceful ſcience will rejoice to learn, is, that this entry into Milan gave liberty to the great Fontana, who had groaned under a weight of chains for having been guilty of the crime of filling a place in the Republic!

A few particulars of Milan, even at the hazard of a digreſſion, to a military reader, may, in a certain degree, poſſeſs or excite ſome new intereſt.

The chief ſtrength of this celebrated city, built by the Gauls in the 395th year of Rome, is a wall and rampart, as alſo a citadel, conſiſting of ſix baſtions. It has been beſieged forty-times, taken twenty, and four times almoſt totally demoliſhed; and, notwithſtanding theſe and other calamities, it ſurvives and flouriſhes! There is a little hill near the town, called The Bochetta, which commands every part

of the ſurrounding country and the greateſt part of the interior and exterior works. This place is not commanded on any ſide, it is well fortified and well kept up; yet, for all this, it cannot ſtand above eight days of open trenches, becauſe it is cloſely ſhut up, and nothing prevents the trenches from being opened by an enemy ſo as to batter in breach with advantage.

The town is beautiful and large, being nearly ten miles in circumference; and the Italians have a proverb, "Milan the Great." The ſtreets are wide: its churches, and, above all, its cathedral, may be ſaid to deſerve the higheſt admiration. The palace, the park, the playhouſes, all ſerve to embelliſh this capital. The chief theatre is of ſuch magnitude as to admit four hundred performers to appear at once, beſides forty horſes! who ſometimes go through the moſt ſurpriſing evolutions: the immenſe number of ſpectators it will contain may, therefore, be conceived, by the above facts. The ſhops are decorated nearly after the manner of the French, nor are the dreſſes of the inhabitants very different. Every thing to be ſeen in Milan gives a great idea of its ſplendor: it might be imagined that the ſcourge of war had made much deeper wounds in this place than it has.

The Milaneſe, at leaſt thoſe of the city, are very ſociable, and even friendly, to the French: they have fewer faults than may be charged upon the Italians in general, or even upon the inhabitants of the environs. The free exerciſe of religion, which they openly profeſſed, and the reſpect that the French ſhewed for their cuſtoms on that head, aſtoniſhed them, after the abuſe which had been circulated concerning them, as atheiſts, &c. The French took their

revenge upon the Allies, by charging them alſo with ungodlineſs; and a *Te Deum* was ordered to be ſung in the cathedral, for the deliverance of Italy from heretics and infidels.

Among the riches which ornament the cathedral may be ſeen ſeveral lamps, of pure gold and ſilver, as alſo two pulpits of maſſy ſilver. Behind the choir is a ſtatue, as large as life, repreſenting the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew: ſtrangers never fail to examine this exquiſite figure of the Saint, ſtripped of his ſkin, which he carries on his left arm, and which expoſes to view, as in a body after diſſection, all the muſcles and fibres which compoſe the human frame. The church, the metropolitan of Milan, is one of the moſt celebrated in all Italy, after St. Peter's at Rome. This edifice, of Gothic architecture, aſtoniſhes at once by the vaſtneſs of the undertaking and the immenſity of labour expended in it. The choir is nearly five hundred and fifty Engliſh feet long and two hundred and ten broad: it is ſupported by two hundred columns of marble, and divided into three large naves, beſides the aiſles. But that which ſurpriſes the moſt is the work of the outſide; the quantity of niches, and the countleſs number of marble ſtatues, of every ſize, with which the walls are charged, from the bottom to the top! One may conſider the deſign of this church as the height of folly in Gothic architecture; and, perhaps, there exiſts nowhere elſe in the world a building ſo loaded with uſeleſs ornament.

The ſtranger can hardly expreſs the ſatisfaction he experiences at the view of the immenſe ſpace, which preſents itſelf to his enchanted eyes, from the lofty piles of this city: thence he can contemplate the Alps, which are diſcoverable along their whole extent; among which are eaſily diſtinguiſhed the Col-

di-Tende, Mount Blanc, (whose majestic summit seems to sustain the sky) Mount Cenis; Mount Genievre; the Simplon; St. Gothard; and the Great St. Bernard, which has borne on its lofty front an Hannibal and a Buonaparté! The Grisons are also beheld, and, as through a thick cloud, the defiles of the Tyrol. Nearer, in the foreground, may be discovered, without difficulty, the whole of Piedmont and a large part of Liguria. What cities, what towns what villages, what myriads of scattered inhabitants, appeared in one view, to recal the recollection of the adventurous French to great events, to a multitude of battles won and lost, to their own unprecedented victories in a former campaign; and to the penetration of that Genius, which, even under the Alps, had measured out the time he wanted to possess this spot!

Having staid seven days in Milan, where pleasures of every kind were within reach of all those who had the means of purchasing them, and thereby indemnifying themselves for their past interruptions, the whole army had recovered from its fatigues: there was no fear of Milan becoming a Capua to the French soldiers under the command of General Buonaparté. The distribution of the ratios was good and regular, and the army could not have wished for better quarters: they were contented with what fell to their lot, being more covetous of glory than pleasure.

The Consul having arranged the provisionary government and ordered the following Proclamations, prepared for his departure.

THE FIRST CONSUL TO THE ARMY.

"SOLDIERS! "Milan, June 6.

"One of our departments was in the power of the enemy; consternation was in the South of France! The

greateſt part of the territory of the Ligurian people, the moſt faithful friends of the Republic, was invaded: the Ciſalpine Republic, annihilated ſince the laſt campaign, was become the ſport of the abſurd feudal regime.

"Soldiers! you march, and already the French territory is delivered! joy and hope ſucceed in our country to conſternation and fear. You will reſtore liberty and independence to the people of Genoa: it ſhall be delivered from its eternal enemies for ever. You are in the capital of the Ciſalpines.

"The alarmed enemy hopes now but to regain the frontiers: you have deprived him of his hoſpitals, of his magazines of his parks of reſerve. The firſt act of the campaign is over.

"You will, every day, hear millions of men addreſs expreſſions of gratitude to you.

"Shall they, then, have violated the French territory with impunity? will you, then, ſuffer the army which has carried alarm into your families to return to its habitations? You will run to arms: well, march to meet it; oppoſe its retreat, ſnatch from it the laurels which it has ſeized, and teach the whole world, that a curſe awaits thoſe madmen who dare to inſult the territory of the Great People! The reſult of all our efforts will be glory unclouded and ſolid peace.

(Signed) "The Firſt Conſul,
"BONAPARTE."

PROCLAMATION

Of the proviſional Government of Milan.

"The proviſional Adminiſtration of this city has the ſatisfaction to manifeſt to their dear fellow citizens the generous ſentiments of the Firſt Conſul of the firſt nation, the invincible nation! They are authoriſed to publiſh the following Articles, which are to be invariably obſerved:

1. "The Ciſalpine Republic is re-organiſed as a free and independent nation.

2. "The free and public exercise of the Catholic religion shall be preserved in the same state as at the epoch of the first conquest of Italy. In consequence, all kinds of outrage or insult on the said religion, its ministers, rites, and symbols, is prohibited, as well as every act which might tend to prevent or trouble, in any manner whatever, the full and free exercise of it. Infractions of the present prohibition shall be punished with the most rigorous penalties, even with capital punishment, upon the decision of the competent authorities.

3. "The property of all citizens, without distinction, shall be respected.

4. "It is forbidden to make use of any denominations calculated to recal party divisions and sentiments,

"Under the happy circumstances in which these regulating maxims are proclaimed, the Administration could not see without pain, that several persons have abandoned their country; in consequence, and by the express order of the First Consul, the absent citizens are invited to return to their houses as speedily as the distance in which they are at the publication of the present Decree shall permit them. Those are formally excepted, who, having taken arms against the Cisalpine Republic after the treaty of Campo Formio, ought to be considered as traitors to their country.

5. "All laws promulgated since the day of the invasion of the Austrian troops to the return of the French armies, being to be considered as null, and given without legal authority, in a state recognised as free and independent by the major part of the powers of Europe, and by the Emperor himself, in the said treaty of Campo Formio; all sequestrations are taken off, whether placed upon property possessed either under the title of ancient property or in virtue of legal acquisition, under whatever pretext, and upon whatever occasion the said sequestrations may have been ordered.

6. "The circulation of the *cedules* of the bank of Vienna is forbidden: in consequence, they shall neither have currency in private transactions nor be received in the public treasury.

"The provisional administration is persuaded that all the inhabitants of the Cisalpine Republic will judge by these preliminary dispositions that the French armies, and the Hero who leads them, have no other object than to bring back freedom and independence to their country. Animated with the justest gratitude, they ought to be eager to concur with all their means to the success of the arms of their deliverers and to the return of a peace, which, after liberty has been reconquered, is the sole good to be desired."

(Signed)

"MARRDANI, SACCHI, GOFFREDO,

"the provisional Administration."

"Milan, at the *Commune Maison*, June 4, 1800."

Several divisions of the army marched off in different directions: whilst the division of Loison took the road to Lodi the Cisalpine legion marched upon Brescia, to have an eye upon that beautiful country, which had changed its masters seven times in twenty-eight years! and General Duhesme took possession of Pizzighitone.

General Lasne, always in the advanced guard, took possession of Pavia on the 5th of June, where he found considerable magazines of provisions, near 100 milliers of powder, 500 pieces of cannon on carriages, and an equal proportion of ball; besides the powder magazines, 800 sick and wounded Austrians, 5,000 coats, and 10,000 muskets.

The city of Pavia, once the capital of Lombardy, was founded by the Gauls, but was afterwards taken by the Romans, who, in their turn, were driven out by the Goths, in the 5th century. About 1477, the town being little better than a mass of ruins, was rebuilt, when it changed its name of Tesinum for that of Pavia.

On the 5th General Murat proceeded towards Placentia, where it was expected the Auſtrians would hazard a battle. The *tête-du-pont* was well defended by a great quantity of artillery till eleven at night, when the French got poſſeſſion of it and took a picquet of 100 men, who defended the paſſage. The Auſtrians were commanded by General O'Reilly, whoſe principal attention was directed to the defence of the bridges acroſs the Po: but on the 6th, in the morning General Laſne made a cannonade on the Po, near to Placentia, which attracted the attention of the enemy, whilſt his diviſion croſſed the river at the village of Belgioza, juſt below Pavia, where the Teſſino and the Po unite. In the interim Murat blockaded the citadel; and General O'Reilly, ſeeing the poſſibility of his retreat being cut off, endeavoured to fall back upon the famous poſt of Stradella, which General Laſne had got poſſeſſion of before him, and had thus intercepted the only road of communication between the garriſon of Placentia and the Auſtrian army.

The Auſtrian general united all the ſcattered forces he could bring together and attacked General Laſne with the greateſt impetuoſity: his forces were routed and he was obliged to retreat to Placentia, after the loſs of 300 taken priſoners and 260 killed, beſide ſome cannon.

The grenadiers and carabineers contended with impatience for the honour of paſſing the Po the firſt; the battalions were alſo as eager. The enemy appeared to deſpiſe their hardihood, by allowing them leiſure to diſembark. But as two flying bridges were eſtabliſhed acroſs the river, the numbers that landed encreaſed every moment, and this raiſed their intre-

pidity higher and higher. No ſooner had all the advanced guard croſſed, than the French attacked the Auſtrians with a kind of fury, who, nevertheleſs, ſtood the ſhock with firmneſs.

At length Laſne ordered *the charge:* his *ſang-froid* redoubled the efforts of his troops. The 6th light, the 28th of the line, and 44th, precipitated on the enemy with advanced bayonets, driving them into the ſwamps, and following them as far as the village of Pizzo, upon the road from Placentia to Tortona. Prudence reſtrained their impetuous valour from further purſuit. Night came on, and every one paſſed it, in hopes of finiſhing the work next day.

This moment of awful ſuſpenſe was ſpent in preparations on both ſides, and it was ſomewhat unfortunate for the French, that the heavy rains ſwelled the Po ſo much as greatly to retard their operations; yet, the ſun had ſcarcely riſen above the horizon, when the advanced poſts began to be in motion. The cannon of Melas played, and the ſeveral battalions took their reſpective directions. The French light artillery and that of the Conſular guard returned their fire. Montebello became the theatre of a moſt ſanguinary combat, and was taken and retaken ſeveral times, as the eagerneſs was as great on one ſide as the other, and the number was nearly equal.

The French advanced guard, about 6,000 infantry, and 400 cavalry, alone ſuſtained the brunt of the action for ſome time, but the diviſion of Watrin was approaching, having effected its paſſage. During this interval, ſix of the Auſtrian battalions, and ſeveral ſquadrons of freſh troops, bore hard upon the advanced guard; their numerous cavalry

too, profiting by the advantages of an open meadow, charged the 11th and 12th huſſars; this onſet was terrible, and the carnage frightful: the Auſtrians had the advantage for two hours.

The ſtanding corn, and eſpecially the rye, with its lofty ſtraw, hindered the reſpective armies from diſtinguiſhing each other clearly. They ran upon one another, without knowing what force they were contending with: the bayonets croſſed each other, dealing out certain death on all ſides. An impetuous courage prevailed, and the Auſtrians gave way, making precipitately for Voghera. Six thouſand priſoners, and twelve pieces of cannon, were the reward of this victory. Several generals, and officers of diſtinction, in the Auſtrian army, were among the killed and wounded; and the ground was covered with the ſlain and the dying. Finally, General Watrin came up, and, in an inſtant, completed the victory: all the different corps received the ſame impulſion, as it were, ſimultaneouſly, and bore on the enemy, who heſitated, ſtaggered, and ſoon after retired like a ruined embankment, ſwept away by an overwhelming torrent.

It was underſtood at the French head-quarters, on the 7th of June, that Melas had no reſource but a battle, as his communication was as completely cut off with his forces in Italy, as Macdonald had been cut off from Moreau, about the ſame ſeaſon the year before. Great diligence was, therefore, exerted to preſerve the poſition at Stradella, and the corps of General Victor, with the cavalry of Generals Mounier and Gardanne, were ordered to the Po, to unite with the forces already there.

The advanced poſts of General Ott were at Mon-

tebello, and Voghera, and the fate of Genoa now began to excite a moſt lively intereſt. A ſingle victory, and the enemy would be ſhut up in the fortreſſes of Alexandria and Tortona: even Bobbio would no longer afford them the chance of retreat; and the army would itſelf carry ſuccours to the gallant Maſſena.

The joys of victory were greatly diminiſhed by the painful intelligence the French received from their priſoners, and by intercepting the diſpatches of Melas, that the brave Maſſena, reduced to the laſt extremity, had been obliged to ſurrender at the moment when orders had been ſent General Ott to raiſe the ſiege. Genoa had fallen! the prize for which they had fought was in the hands of the enemy. The misfortune ſeemed full of real calamity at firſt view: but a diſpatch from General Maſſena ſoon diſpelled the gloom, when it appeared that the terms of capitulation were among the moſt honourable that ever were obtained.

ARMY OF ITALY.

"*Maſſena, General in Chief, to the Conſuls of the French Republic.*

"Head Quarters at Genoa, 7th June.

"CITIZENS CONSULS,

"I have the honour to preſent to you the convention for the evacuation of the city of Genoa, by the right wing of the French army.

"Since the 15th Germinal, (April 5th,) we have received no ſuccours, either from France or Corſica.

"Since the 1ſt of this month, (May 21ſt,) the people of Genoa have been without bread. The army have received only ſix ounces of bread, compoſed of a mixture half bran and half maize; during the laſt ten days the maize

has been replaced by cocoa, and the ratios reduced to three ounces. The greateſt part of the horſes have been eaten.

"The conventions which I addreſs you were ſigned at eight in the evening.

"On the 16th the troops of the right wing began their march, with their arms, baggage, and artillery, to rejoin the centre of the army, which was at Alaſſio on the 17th. To-morrow I repair to it myſelf.

"I ſhall have the honour of making you a report of the events which have taken place from the 15th Germinal to the 16th Prarial, the day of evacuation.

"Health and reſpect, MASSENA."

P. S. This will be delivered to you, with eight colours, taken from the enemy by one of my aids-du-camp."

SURRENDER OF GENOA.

"*Negociation for the evacuation of* GENOA, *by the right wing of the French army, between Vice Admiral Lord* KEITH, *Commander in Chief of the Engliſh fleet; Lieutenant General Baron* OTT, *Commander of the blockade; and the French General in Chief* MASSENA.

Art. 1. "The right wing of the French army charged with the defence of Genoa, the general in Chief, and his Staff, ſhall march out, with arms and baggage, to rejoin the centre of the army.—Ans. The right wing, charged with the defence of Genoa, ſhall march out, to the number of 8,110 men, and ſhall take the route, by Nice, to France; the reſt ſhall be tranſported by ſea to Antibes. Admiral Keith engages to furniſh this troop with the quantity of biſcuit allowed the Engliſh troops. On the other ſide, all the Auſtrian priſoners made in the Riviera of Genoa, by the army of Maſſena, in the preſent year, ſhall be reſtored in compenſation, except thoſe who are already exchanged at the preſent time. Moreover, the firſt article ſhall be punctually executed.

2. "All which belongs to the right wing, as artillery

and ammunition of all kinds, ſhall be tranſported by the Engliſh fleet to Antibes, or the Gulph of Jouan.—Ans. Agreed to.

3. " The convaleſcents, and thoſe who are not in a condition to march, ſhall be tranſported by ſea to the Antibes, and taken care of, as mentioned in the firſt article.—Ans. They ſhall be tranſported by the Engliſh fleet, and taken care of.

4. " The French ſoldiers remaining in the hoſpitals of Genoa ſhall be treated on a footing with the Auſtrians; and, when they are in a condition to depart, ſhall be tranſported as mentioned in the firſt article.—Ans. Agreed to.

5. " The city of Genoa, as well as the port, ſhall be declared neutral: the line to determine the neutrality, ſhall be fixed mutually by the contracting parties.—Ans. This article turning on conſiderations purely political, it is not in the power of the general of the Allied Army to give any decided anſwer to it. In the mean time, the underſigned are authoriſed to declare, that his Imperial Majeſty the Emperor, is determined to grant his protection to the inhabitants of Genoa. The city of Genoa may be aſſured, that all the proviſionary eſtabliſhments that circumſtances may require, ſhall be ſubſervient to public tranquillity and happineſs.

6. " The independence of the Ligurian People ſhall be reſpected. No power at war with the Ligurian Republic ſhall create any change in its form of government.—Ans. The ſame as the preceding article.

7. " No Ligurian having exerciſed, or exerciſing yet any public functions, ſhall be perſecuted for his political opinions.—Ans. No perſon ſhall be moleſted for his opinions, nor for having taken part in the government previous to this time. The diſturbers of the public repoſe, after the entry of the Auſtrians into Genoa, ſhall be puniſhed conformably to the laws.

8. " It ſhall be allowed to the French, Genoeſe, and Italians, domiciliated or fled to Genoa, to retire with

whatever may belong to them, whether money, moveables, or any other effects, to whatever place they shall think proper, either by sea or land; passports to this effect shall be delivered to them, which shall be valid for six months.—Ans. Granted.

[Articles 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15, relate to the victualling of Genoa, commerce, movements respecting the evacuation by the French troops, safe conduct, &c. of the wounded.]

16. "The officers, of all ranks, in the army of the General in Chief Massena, made prisoners of war since the commencement of hostilities by the present army, shall return to France upon their parole, and shall not serve till after they are exchanged."

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

"The port of Lanterne, so far as the drawbridge, and the entry at the gate, shall be surrendered to a detachment of Austrian troops, and two English vessels, to-day, the 4th of June, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

"Immediately after the signing of the Articles, hostages shall be given on either side.

"The artillery, ammunition, and other military effects belonging to the city of Genoa, and its territory, shall be faithfully given up by the French commissaries to the Allied Armies.

"Done on the bridge of Cornegliano, 5th June, 1800.

(Signed) "Baron D'OTT. Lieut. General.
"KEITH, Vice Admiral.
"MASSENA."

This capture, from which so much had been expected, and which had cost the Allies so many thousands of lives and so much treasure, hardly afforded them a triumph of twenty-four hours; as General Suchet was advancing rapidly in the country of Nice, and, in several contests with the advanced guard of Ott, under the command of General Elnitz, had

taken, between the 20th of May and the 6th of June, 7,000 priſoners and 30 pieces of cannon!

The French papers charged Lord Keith with refuſing to fulfil the terms of the capitulation, upon the ground, that the artillery found in the city ought to be given up by the French to the Allies, and that 119 veſſels, found by him in the harbour, had entered the port after it was in a ſtate of blockade. The Engliſh writers have not given information enough upon the ſubject to determine its truth or falſehood; but their ſilence is of the leſs conſequence, as the armies had taken ſuch ſtations as to place the final iſſue of the conteſt upon the event of a ſingle battle.

CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLE OF MARENGO.—*Armiſtice between Generals Berthier and Melas.*

TIME had flown ſo rapidly before the tardy ſteps of Melas, that he ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of catching what remained: and now every diviſion of his army was advancing to the ſeat of action, to ſecure the ſtrong fortreſſes that were not yet ſurrendered. The Auſtrian head-quarters were removed to Alexandria, and the commandant of Turin was ordered to commence offenſive war, by attacking General Turreau at Suza.

This injudicious attempt, even if it had ſucceeded, would but ſlightly have weakened in the Weſt an enemy whoſe ſtrength lay in the Eaſt; but General Kaim was repulſed with loſs, and the French general took up a poſition of obſervation nearer to Turin.

The day after the battle of Montebello the French head-quarters were removed to Voghera, through which the army marched on its way to Tortona. The French, on paſſing under the window at which was the Conſul, ſaw General Deſaix (now appointed to a diviſion) and an Emigrant officer, who had come to parley with him: upon this they endeavoured to ſhew in their countenances and their geſtures the joy, or, rather, the *fierté*, which reigned in their hearts. The cries of *Vive Bonaparte!* with muſic playing the burleſque air anſwering to the words *Nous lui percerons le flanc*, was ſeen to darken the aſpect of the officer. How had a few days changed the fortune of all who depended upon the cauſe of the Allies! what wonders had the firmneſs of an individual effected!

To take Milan—to operate a junction with General Mouncey—to cut off the rear of the enemy at Breſcia, Oric, Novi, Marcaria, and Placentia—to take their magazines, poſſeſs themſelves of their depôts, their ſick, and their parks of guns, were the orders given to the different parties for their movements: while the main army had to watch that of the enemy—to beat up the Po, and effect the paſſage of that river before Stradella: the activity of all theſe movements gave to the French army what may be properly conſidered the *initiative*, which the genius of Buonaparté knew how to profit by.

The blockade of Tortona was to be the next enterpriſe: the army came to its poſition before that place in columns, by diviſions; the advanced guard quietly ſurrounded the town, and the day paſſed without any remarkable occurrence.

If the Auſtrian commander had any doubts on his mind as to the line of conduct the moſt proper for him to purſue, this was the moment for him to determine. The poſſeſſion of Genoa had ſo far altered his ſituation, that he had his choice either to fight or to ſhut himſelf up in the garriſons he yet held; and this deciſion ought to have been guided by the joint conſiderations of the proportion that his means bore to thoſe of the enemy, and the probability there was that the court of Vienna would be able to ſend a new army and new ſupplies to his aſſiſtance. If his army was equal to that of Buonaparté, not a doubt could be entertained as to the propriety of hazarding a battle; but it would have been imprudent to face an enemy with an inferior force, becauſe that enemy muſt of neceſſity have weakened his power by extending his

operations; and it would have been adviſable to have taken the chance of receiving ſupplies in preference of loſing all by a ſingle defeat.

It ſhould not be forgotten, that at the time the battle of Montebello was fought the Auſtrians were yet in poſſeſſion of the ſtrong fortreſſes of *Turin*, *Alexandria*, *Tortona Genoa*, *Savona*, *Coni*, *Ceva*, *Alba*, *Aſti*, *Verua*, *Caſale*, and *Valenza*; beſide the whole of the dutchies of Mantua and Tuſcany. Thoſe fortreſſes might have been garriſoned, and have defended themſelves at leaſt as long as they had been defended by the French upon former occaſions; and Genoa, with all its advantages, had now the ſuperior advantage of an Engliſh fleet to keep it open and furniſh it with ſupplies. Could the French leave troops enough behind to ſet down before ſo many places, and yet have an army ſufficiently numerous to keep the field? ſuppoſe even that they could, and that they were ſo fortunate as to take the whole of thoſe places, with the exception of Genoa; would Melas in that city have been ſituated worſe than Maſſena had been before? and, being in poſſeſſion of this port, could not the court of Vienna, with the aſſiſtance of its allies, have kept Savona alſo, and have poured in reinforcements with leſs difficulty than the French could have tranſported them by the Alps and Glaciers of Piedmont and Switzerland? It is the opinion of the French officers, that the Auſtrians did not trouble themſelves with theſe inquiries. The writer of the diſpatches to Paris ſays, that "they appeared to have no ſettled plan and to fluctuate in all their movements." They were buſy without doing buſineſs, and the Conſul took advantage of their confuſion.

The French seem to have fought for Genoa from a sense of its value, the Allies from the childish motive of gaining a temporary triumph.

It ought not to have escaped General Melas, that, if the worst possible misfortune could happen to him—that he should lose every fortress without receiving any kind of supply, and, at last, receive orders to evacuate all Italy: so long as he possessed Genoa its port would afford his army a retreat; and to keep open a communication with that city, as well as to secure a retreat to it, at any price, ought to have been his first and principal concern. Buonaparté knew what ought to be done, and he hastened to benefit by the neglect: he ordered the division of General Chabran to guard the banks of the Po opposite Valenza, for fear Melas should attempt to escape that way, and sent General Gardanne forward to the Bormida, to get possession of the passes between Piedmont and Genoa, whilst the army marched from the camp before Tortona to cross the Scrivia.

To the Southward Massena and Suchet were advancing rapidly to harass the Austrian rear; and it appears, by the Consul's Letter to the inferior Consuls, that he was not ignorant of the diversion likely to be made in his favour by the army of Italy.

LETTER

Of General BUONAPARTE, *First Consul of the Republic, to the Second and Third Consuls.*

"Milan, June 9.

"You will see, citizens Consuls, by the letters of General Melas, which are annexed to my preceding letter, that General Ott received orders to raise the blockade of Genoa on the very day that General Massena, urged by the

total want of proviſions; demanded a capitulation. It appears that General Maſſena has 10,000 combatants and General Suchet nearly as many. If theſe two corps have united, as I think they have, between Oneglia and Savona, they will be able to enter Piedmont, by the Tanaro, immediately, and be very uſeful at a time when the enemy will be obliged to leave ſome troops at Genoa.

"The greateſt part of the army is at this moment at Stradella. We have a bridge at Placentia: Orſinovi. Breſcia, and Cremona, are ours.

"You will find, ſubjoined, different bulletins, and many letters, which have been intercepted, and which it will, perhaps, be uſeful to publiſh.

"I ſalute you,

"BONAPARTE."

The advanced guard of the army halted on the 13th at San Juliano, and, as ſoon as the main body arrived, the whole army moved on into the plain in order of battle: all the cavalry marched in a body.

It was now underſtood by the French army that Melas had evacuated Turin, and was advancing to meet them at the head of near 60,000 men.

The diviſion of General Gardanne attacked the enemy at the bridge of the Bormida, whence he retreated to take poſt at Marengo, wiſhing to give battle in the plain, where his numerous cavalry would have rendered him great ſervice. This diſpoſition induced the French to ſuppoſe that it was not the deſign of Melas to attack them, but to divert their attention whilſt he might make ſure either of Genoa or the Po.

General Laſne, had, fortunately, got poſſeſſion of Caſtel-Novo, where flying bridges were conſtructed, in order that the Po might be paſſed with rapidity, and a corps of General Deſaix's marched to gain Rivolta.

The Conſul, with his horſe-guards and pieces of light artillery ſkirted Marengo, and was ſeen almoſt the whole time, at a diſtance, traverſing the plain, examining the *terrein* with attention, by turns profoundly meditating and giving orders.

The day began to cloſe in, and the cavalry had been on horſeback from the moment it broke: all had been ſoaked to the ſkin; for none, not even the Conſul, had found time to put on a cloak.

In the evening the French were joined by ſeveral deſerters and ſome ſcattered priſoners which had been taken; among others, an officer of Buſſy's legion, wearing the croſs of St. Louis. The Conſul queſtioned them with conſiderable earneſtneſs. All the priſoners were aſtoniſhed, when informed that the perſon that they had juſt been ſpeaking with was Buonaparté.

The whole army paſſed the night at San Juliano, a hamlet of three farms, a league from Tortona, and ſituated at the entrance of the plains of Marengo. The Conſul, and the thouſand men of his guard, the ſtaff of the army, and its enormous ſuite, were all heaped together at this place.

The morning of June 14th commenced, and ſome diſcharges of cannon, by the advanced guard, ſoon drove away their ſleep: all was in readineſs preſently, and their breakfaſt was concluded as ſpeedily as had been their ſupper the over-night. The diviſion of Gardanne had been attacked at ſeven; at eight o'clock the enemy had manifeſted much vigour of preparation: he touched upon a few weak points and made certain diſpoſitions in conſequence; but his intentions were not fully known at head-quarters till towards the latter part of the morning. Berthier was

the firſt upon the field of battle. Till this time the various aides-de-camp had relieved each other in appriſing the Conſul of the enemy's ſteps: numeous wounded ſoldiers arriving left no doubt that the Auſtrians were in force.

The troops under the command of General Victor were immediately drawn up in order of battle: the one part formed the centre, which occupied the village of Marengo; the other formed the left wing, which extended as far as the Bormida; the corps of General Laſne formed the right wing. The French army formed in two lines and had its wings ſupported by ſtrong bodies of cavalry.

The Auſtrians diſplayed themſelves ſucceſſively, and *debouched* in three columns; that of the right by Figarolo; that of the centre by the great road to Marengo; and that of the left by Caſtel Ceriolo.

The Auſtrian left wing evinced a deſign to aſcend the Bormida, and General Berthier received intelligence that the French right, under Victor, was attacked with great fury: by this developement of his forces the deſign of Melas was fully comprehended.

Upon receiving theſe tidings the Conſul mounted his favourite charger at eleven o'clock, and made great haſte to the field of battle; General Deſaix, who had been ordered to Seravalla, was inſtantly recalled, and his diviſion, with the reſerved cavalry, directed to ſupport General Victor. Both cannon and muſketry, on certain points, began to be heard and to approach nearer and nearer; many, both of cavalry and infantry, retired into the rear, wounded by the fire of the onſet. The Auſtrian line was extended to the ſpace of two leagues: for it is neceſſary to remark, that the Bormida, although generally rapid and deep,

was, nevertheleſs, fordable at ſeveral places. The Auſtrians were particularly tenacious of their poſition near the bridge, but the principal point of action was at St. Stefano: from this point they could gain Voghera before the French could, and thereby cut off their retreat; they, therefore, inceſſantly directed their attention to this weak point, By twelve o'clock the French were well convinced that the whole Auſtrian force was on the field, and that they now, in good earneſt, accepted the challenge which they had declined the day before.

Orders were given to the diſpoſable troops in the rear to come forward, but the corps under the command of Deſaix was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance. The left wing, under the orders of Victor, began to give way, and ſeveral corps of infantry retired in diſorder, whilſt whole platoons of cavalry puſhed back. The firing drew nearer; in the centre a dreadful diſcharge was heard on the Bormida, which ceaſed all at once. "I," ſays Monſieur Petit, "was in an inexpreſſible anxiety, yet ſtill I ventured to flatter myſelf that our troops advanced; on the contrary, however, I ſaw them, in a few minutes after, returning with but too much haſte, carrying the wounded on their ſhoulders: on the part of the right wing, alſo, I ſaw, with concern, that the enemy gained inſenſibly upon us."

Buonaparté advanced in front, and exhorted to courage and firmneſs all the corps he met with: it was viſible that his preſence reanimated them. Several ſoldiers were obſerved to prefer abſolute death, in ſuſtaining the retreat, to the diſpleaſure they might give him in being a witneſs of their flight. From

this moment his horſe-guards no longer continued, as before, near his perſon; but, without being at any great diſtance from him, took an active part in the battle.

A cloud of Auſtrian cavalry *debouched* rapidly in the plain and formed themſelves in battle array, maſking an immenſe train of light artillery, which inſtantly began to haſten the deſtruction of the French ranks. General Berthier, who, at no great diſtance, had his eye upon the movement of this column, was briſkly charged by a part of it, and was forced to retire upon the horſe grenadiers of the Conſular guard. Murat, at the head of the dragoons, took the Auſtrians in flank, protecting the retreat of the infantry and preſerving the right flank of Victor.

For two hours General Gardanne ſuſtained the attack of the right and centre of the enemy without loſing an inch of ground, notwithſtanding his inferiority in artillery: both ſides fought with equal obſtinacy.

The foot grenadiers of the Conſular guard now came up, and forming in the moſt orderly manner, in ſubdiviſions, advanced againſt the enemy: without artillery without cavalry, to the number of five hundred only, they had to endure the brunt of a victorious army! But, not conſidering the ſmallneſs of their numbers, they kept advancing and forced every thing to give way in their paſſage: the lofty Eagle hovered everywhere around them and threatened to tear them in pieces. The very firſt bullet which ſtruck them laid three grenadiers and a *fourrier* dead on the ground, being in cloſe order. Charged three times by the cavalry, fuſiladed by the infantry, within fifty paces, they ſurrounded their colours and their wounded, and,

in a hollow ſquare, exhauſted all their rounds of cartridges, and then, with ſlow and regular ſteps, fell back and joined the rear guard!

Notwithſtanding many ſimilar traits of courage the army fought retreating in all parts: the centre gave way, and the Auſtrians outſtretched the French and turned the right wing. General Gardanne, obliged to quit his poſition in the advanced guard, retreated gradually and took an oblique poſition. At the ſame moment the garriſon of Tortona, diſcovering the almoſt routed condition of Victor, made a ſortie; and thus the French were ſurrounded on every part.

The Conſul, who was all the while in the centre, encouraged the remains of the gallant corps which defended the road and the defile which it croſſed, ſhut up on one ſide by a wood and on the other by ſome buſhy vineyards, of lofty growth: the village of Marengo flanked this cruelly memorable ſpot to the left.

What torrents of blood were ſhed in that place! what numbers of brave men periſhed there! An invincible courage had, unceaſingly, to ſtruggle againſt numbers of the obſtinate foe, perpetually increaſing.

The French artillery, in part diſmounted or taken, had but little ammunition. Thirty pieces of cannon, actively ſerved by the enemy, cut in two both men and trees, the branches of which, in their fall, cruſhed to death thoſe who were before wounded, and who had ſought an inſecure refuge under them.

In this awful moment, when the dead and the dying covered almoſt the whole field, the Conſul ſeemed to brave death and to be near it; for the bullets were ſeen, more than once, to drive up the ground between his horſe's legs. In the midſt of warriors, who fell on

every ſide of him, he was obſerved to be giving his orders with his accuſtomed coolneſs, he ſaw the approaching tempeſt without teſtifying any fear of it! All thoſe who perceived him, forgetting the perils which they had to encounter, exclaimed: "If *he* ſhould be killed! why does he not retire?" It is ſaid, too, that Berthier addreſſed him to the ſame effect. The moſt courageous man, the man loving glory as he does, might very well be moved without any imputation of a crime: But no, the Buonaparté of Arcola diſcovered no change in thoſe moments of doubtful fortune.

Part of the ill ſucceſs of the French was to be attributed to the deſertion of a general, who, without authority, had quitted the command of his brigade when General Victor ſent orders to him to aſcend the Bormida and obſerve the right of the Auſtrians.

The village of Marengo, expoſed by the retreat of Gardanne, ſeemed to be the prize for which both armies were fighting. General Victor, ſtationed ſucceſſively the 24th light, the 43d, and 96th of the line, to defend it; whilſt General Gardanne, in his new poſition, took in flank the corps marching to attack it. The Auſtrian ranks, ſwept down by a terrible fire, for a moment gave way, but encouraged by new reinforcements, continued their march.

While theſe movements were going on, the brigade under the command of General Kellerman, the younger, ſupported the left; the 8th dragoons charged and routed a column of the Auſtrian cavalry, but it was charged in its turn by ſuperior forces, and was upon the point of giving way, when

the 2nd and 10th cavalry came to its aſſiſtance, and took 100 priſoners.

The left of the enemy advanced towards Caſtel Ceriolo, whilſt their centre, always receiving new reinforcements, ſucceeded in carrying Marengo, where they made 400 men priſoners, who had ſhut themſelves up in a houſe. At this time, ſome of the French ſharp-ſhooters, who had expended all their cartridges, quitting the field in diſorder, the Auſtrians were encouraged to return to the charge, with additional impetuoſity; General Laſne charged them with ſucceſs. The line uncovered in the plain, reſiſted the artillery and ſupported the charge of the Auſtrian cavalry, but durſt not attempt to purſue them for fear of being turned. On the left, General Victor ordered a retrogade movement, and General Laſne then found himſelf attacked by forces infinitely ſuperior, and was obliged to follow the ſame courſe.

The Conſul, acquainted that the reſerve of General Deſaix had not yet arrived, haſtened to the diviſion of General Laſne, to ſlacken its retreat: "My lads," ſaid he, "it is my practice to *ſleep* on the field of battle." Nevertheleſs, the enemy advanced: the Conſul wiſhed to charge them in the rear, at the head of the 72d demi-brigade, and ordered ſeveral movements with that view, which ſerved to gain ſome time. The retreat was, however, abſolutely neceſſary, and it was effected in good order, though under a fire of 80 pieces of cannon, which preceded the march of the Auſtrian columns.

The galling fire of the enemy did not ſhake the firmneſs of the French battalions; they drew cloſe ranks, and manœuvred with the ſame preciſion as

if they had been on the parade. At this moment General Berthier ſent two demi-brigades to Caſtel Ceriolo, to charge the battalions that ſupported the Auſtrian cavalry, the centre and left continuing to retrogade.

In ſhort, at four o'clock in the afternoon, in a line of five miles or more, there did not ſtand ſix thouſand infantry to their colours, and only ſix pieces of cannon could be made any uſe of! Let not the Writer be accuſed of exaggeration, in painting this prodigious falling-off, the cauſes of which are very well known. A third of the army was actually put *hors de combat:* the deficiency of carriages for removing the ſick and wounded occaſioned the neceſſity for more than another third to be occupied in this painful ſervice: not to ſpeak of the plauſible pretext this circumſtance afforded to certain individuals (of which an army always contains more or leſs) to abſent themſelves at ſo unſeaſonable a conjuncture from their reſpective corps. Hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, had imperiouſly forced a great number of officers to withdraw alſo; and every one knows what effect the abſence of officers occaſions. The *Tirailleurs* alſo had, for the moſt part, loſt the direction of their corps.

Any one, who, in thoſe circumſtances, ſo terrible and ſo diſcouraging to the French army, might have attempted to perſuade them, that in two hours from that time, they ſhould gain the battle, take 7,000 priſoners, many general officers, 12 ſtands of colours, 26 pieces of artillery; have eleven ſtrong places, in fact, all the fineſt part of Italy, delivered into their hands by the enemy; that, in two days, that enemy would, in an humiliated condition, file off through

their ranks; that an armiſtice would ſuſpend the ſcourge of war; ſuch a man would have appeared, by ſuch ſilly hopes and predictions, as if only deſirous to inſult their deſperate condition. How, then, were ſuch wonders brought about? we muſt follow the courſe of our narrative.

The enemy, not being able to force the defile, upon which the greateſt part of the troops had doubled, began to re-eſtabliſh a moſt formidable line of artillery, under protection of which they threw their infantry into the vineyards and into the woods. The cavalry, drawn up in the rear, only waited the moment of the French being driven out to fall upon their diſperſed ranks and hew them to pieces. Had this laſt event happened, all had been loſt irretrievably, the Conſul muſt have been taken or killed, and his ſoldiers too much diſpirited to have recovered. But Victory was not far diſtant; faithful to Buonaparté, ſhe came, at length, to fight with him, and to be his guide.

Already had the diviſions of Mounier and Deſaix begun to ſhew themſelves: notwithſtanding a forced march of ten leagues they arrived on a full gallop; they forgot their wants, and only thirſted to avenge their fallen comrades. The crowd of wounded and runaways might well enough have damped their courage; but, with eyes fixed on Deſaix, they only thought of ſharing his dangers, and flying to glory. Alas! they were far from thinking, that, in an hour they would ceaſe to be commanded by this brave general. The foot grenadiers appeared again, covered with renown, and menacing, with their terrible bayonets, thoſe who, a ſhort time paſſed, had bargained for their caps beforehand. The ſoldiers

of the legions of Buſſy, had collected the caps of the grenadiers killed or wounded, and exhibited them to the French line, by twirling them round on their ſabres.

The village of Caſtel Ceriolo was carried by the two demi-brigades of Mounier's diviſion, who held a large body of the Auſtrian cavalry in check. The reſerve under General Deſaix, formed in two lines in the plain of St. Juliano, flanked on the right by 12 pieces of artillery, commanded by General Marmont, and ſupported on the left by the cavalry, under the command of General Kellerman. The army rallied at St. Juliano.

General Melas here committed a great fault, in changing that diſpoſition of his forces which had procured him ſo much ſucceſs. Finding too many obſtacles in the centre, he thought, that, by extending his wings, he might ſurround the enemy, and thereby entirely cut him off: he, therefore, directed great part of his force to theſe points, imagining he had ſufficiently concealed his movements. Thus, not being able to diſcover what paſſed in the French army, and ignorant of thoſe reinforcements which had juſt arrived, he laid the foundation of his own diſaſter. In fact, Buonaparté, (always placed in the poſt of honour, and whoſe perſpicacious eye nothing eſcaped,) ſeized this favourable opportunity: his orders flew every where in a moment.

As ſoon as the firſt battalion of the diviſion of Deſaix had reached the heights, that General formed it in cloſe column. Every one kept his preſcribed diſtance; each received particular inſtructions. The Conſul, the General in Chief (Berthier,) the generals, the officers of the ſtaff, ran through the

General Moreau.

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nks, and everywhere inſpired that confidence which precedes and creates great ſucceſſes. This work took up an hour, which was a terrible one to paſs, for the Auſtrian artillery was bearing cruelly upon the French ranks. Their ricochet bullets carried away with them both men and horſes; the French received death amidſt them in this manner without moving a ſtep, except to cloſe their ranks over the dead bodies of their comrades! This thundering artillery reached even the cavalry, who rallied in the rear, as well as a great number of foot ſoldiers of different corps, who, encouraged by Deſaix's diviſion, which they had ſeen paſs, ran anew to the field of honour. What was now to happen had been foreſeen—was calculated upon: the battalions burnt with impatience; the drummer's eye, fixed upon the drum-major's cane, waited for the ſignal; the trumpeter, with his arm raiſed up, prepared his breath! The ſignal was given, the terrible *pas de charge* was heard! General Deſaix at the head of the brave 9th light, threw himſelf with impetuoſity into the midſt of the Auſtrian battalions, and charged them with the bayonet. The diviſion of Boudet followed the ſame moment on the right. All the corps were put in motion at once in two lines; the tremendous fire of the French, like a torrent, carried every thing away that oppoſed its paſſage; in a few minutes the defile was freed from the enemy, who were everywhere thrown down; the dying, the living, the dead, and the wounded, were all trodden foot.

Every chief of a battalion, as he reached the back of the defile, drew up his corps in order of battle

and now the French line preſented a formidable front. As faſt as the pieces of cannon could be brought up, they were employed in battery, and made great havoc, by their point-blank ſhot, among the affrighted Auſtrians. Theſe fell back in their turn, and their immenſe cavalry charged in a body with fury; but the bayonet ſtopped the infantry ſuddenly, and one of their powder waggons blowing up, their alarm redoubled: the riſing diſorder being hidden in the ſmoke, the exclamations of the conquerors added to the terror of the vanquiſhed; in ſhort, all, in a fright, gave way, and fled.

The French cavalry then ruſhed into the plain, and by its daring conduct concealed its ſmallneſs of number. It advanced towards the enemy without the leaſt fear of being broken into. On the right, Deſaix cleared hedges and ditches, threw down and trampled upon every thing that oppoſed him. To the left, Victor, his rival in ſwiftneſs, carried Marengo, and flew towards the Bormida.

The centre with leſs force, and the cavalry, under the orders of Murat, advanced majeſtically into the plain, always within half-cannon's length. Murat greatly annoyed the Auſtrian center, and by watching and following its movements, kept an enormous body of cavalry in check, which could only manœuvre under the fire of three eight-pounders and a howitzer. The French infantry was ready to turn them, having a ſhorter ſpace to run over, in order to reach the bridge, and thus cut off the principal point of their retreat. The intrepid Deſaix, having obliqued to the right upon San Stefano, cut off the Auſtrians left wing entirely; and, in the very moment of his triumph, after having ſaved the army, and, perhaps,

his country; the friend and the model of brave men, Desaix, received a mortal wound, from a bullet, in the head! When tidings of his death were carried to the Consul, in the heat of the battle, he exclaims, "Why have I not time to weep!" The death of this officer, who was universally beloved, inspired the army with new ardour. To avenge his death, they fell on the second line of Austrian infantry, which met them with courageous firmness, and another terrible onset hung the victory again in long suspense; the fury of the French bayonets was met by the Austrian battalions. The younger Kellerman, with 800 horse, collected from various regiments, made 6,000 Hungarian grenadiers and others, besides Generals Zach, St. Julian, and the officers of the staff, prisoners.

Night was coming on; the troops of the Austrians in disorder; cavalry, infantry, artillery, were heaped one upon another towards the centre: in the throng many of their own men were thrown off the bridge into the river. The artillery, which they had drawn back at the commencement of their retreat, for fear that, by its being taken, it might be turned against them, was, in the present circumstances, of more injury than use to them, as it intercepted their passage. Murat, seeing the importance of precipitating their retreat, and increasing their confusion, made the French cavalry advance on a full trot; and General Lasne, who, at the head of the grenadiers of the Consular Guard and the division of Boudet marched against this line, supported by the artillery under Marmont, in a short time got before a part of the flying infantry, which had no resource but to be made prisoners or to be cut to pieces. The horse

grenadiers, and the chaſſeurs of the Conſular Guard, kept the right of the road, to the number of 200; four or five hundred men, of the 1ſt, 6th, 8th dragoons, and 20th of cavalry, occupied the left: Murat flew from one ſide to the other. The deciſive moment was come: the chief of brigade, Beſſieres, filled with the ſame ardour which inſpired the army and exciting a deſire in each corps to diſtinguiſh itſelf, gave orders for the trumpet to ſound a charge, that they might fall upon the enemy's infantry, already out of breath.

The third line of Auſtrian cavalry, reſolving to ſave the infantry, came up in column, and their rapid pace obliged the French to give looſe to their reins; but they, at the ſame time inclined to the left, by obliquing on them. At the diſtance of about thirty paces was a ditch, which again ſeparated the furious combatants: the French croſſed the ditch, ſword in hand, and ſurrounded the two firſt platoons in five minutes. The Auſtrians did but ill defend themſelves, and were, therefore, cut down or thrown into diſorder. The French, at firſt, made no priſoners, but the dragoons took the ſame column in flank, and added to the general carnage. The purſuit was continued as far as a ravine, where they made a great many priſoners. The purſuit continued till the Auſtrian rear-guard was cut to pieces and till their whole force had arrived at the bridge of the Bormida: at length the paucity of numbers, the unfavourableneſs of the ground, the night ſetting in, and the extreme fatigue of the horſes, induced the prudent Murat to think it would not be proper to expoſe his troops further, to increaſe the fruits of ſo ſucceſsful a day's work.

General Berthier ſays, it was night alone that ſaved the Auſtrian army; it may be ſo, but it is poſſible that the Auſtrians could have borne a few hours more of hunger and fatigue as well as the French. The two armies had, however, been fourteen hours within muſket-ſhot of each other, and doubtleſs, both of them wanted repoſe. Victory had inclined to each ſide four times during the day, and 60 pieces of cannon had been, alternately, won and loſt. At the cloſe of the battle, the French had taken 12 ſtandards, 26 pieces of cannon, and 7,000 priſoners: the Auſtrians had loſt ſeven of their generals, 400 officers, with 8,000 men killed or wounded. The French loſt the General Deſaix, and the brother of General Watrin, killed, four generals of brigade wounded, near 8004 men killed, 2,000 wounded, and 1,100 taken priſoners; Generals Chamberlin and Marmont, were wounded.

Thus ended this memorable day. The darkneſs deprived both ſides of the means of ſuccouring all the wounded; a great number were left upon the field of battle. The Auſtrians and the French, now becoming brethren from ſad neceſſity, drew nearer to each other, by crawling, as well as they could, and offering or ſeeking mutual aid.

Every one had lain where he was found, with his knapſack on his back and his firelock between his limbs; horſemen, holding, as long as they could, their bridles in their hands, and ſleeping, both horſes and riders, without any thing to eat or drink.

The clock at Marengo ſtruck ten, when the haraſſed French were returning ſlowly towards San. uliano. Numbers, diſtreſſed with fatigue, but more

for want of ſleep, doſed upon their horſes backs, but were, every inſtant, rouſed by the painful cries of thoſe who were borne acroſs firelocks or temporary hand-barrows; or of thoſe, who, abandoned and ſcattered in the fields, implored their aid. Thus every humane and ſenſitive heart was penetrated with that melancholy to which the true ſoldier is no ſtranger, and which does him ſo much honour. Horſes, limping here and there, upon three legs, called to them by their inſtinctive neighings; at every ſtep, too, it was neceſſary to turn out of the way, ſo as to avoid treading upon the wounded. The ditches and the road often preſented the ſcene of caiſſoons and other carriages, as well as cannon, overturned: further off were houſes devoured by the flames and tumbling upon the heads of the wretched owners, half dead by the fears which had driven them to the expedient of hiding themſelves in the cellars and other ſubterraneous places. The total darkneſs which everywhere appeared made the picture additionally frightful. Priſoners, not knowing where to go, but, with the hope of eſcaping, wandered at random: if they were met by the French ſoldiers, bending under the weight of their wounded comrades, they were forced to turn back and bear thoſe burthens on their ſhoulders.

"At length arrived at head-quarters, which ſerved as the *Ambulance* of the army," ſays Monſieur Petit, "every one ſtowed himſelf as he could, among the dying and the dead, without the piercing cries of the former being able any longer to ſurmount the violence of ſleep. The next morning, hunger taking its turn to prevail, I," he continues, "in a melancholy condition, entered the great court, to look for ſomething for myſelf and horſe to eat: I was there

ſtruck with a ſight ſo horrible that I ſhuddered all over.—More than three thouſand, Frenchmen and Auſtrians, heaped upon one another, in the yard, in the granaries, in the ſtables and outhouſes, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the moſt lamentable cries, blended with the ſevereſt curſes againſt the ſurgeons, there being too few to dreſs all their wounded at once. Everywhere I heard the languiſhing voices of comrades, or of my particular friends, who begged of me ſomething to eat or drink: all that I could do was to fetch them ſome water! In truth, forgetting my own wants and thoſe of my horſe, I ſtaid more than two hours, running backwards and forwards, performing, by turns, the part of a ſurgeon and an hoſpital attendant.

"Priſoners were brought in from every part, which increaſed the number of the famiſhed: in ſhort, this was a day that appeared of an inſupportable length to all of us."

An event, however, occurred during this day which made the French army acquainted with the value of the victory they had obtained.—An Auſtrian officer came to parley, and a French aid-de-camp ſet out immediately to Alexandria: Berthier went off to that place about noon, leaving all in the greateſt expectation, but no one dared to hope for that, which, the next day, they knew to have been obtained.

A ſupply of ſubſiſtence and other neceſſaries now began to arrive, as well as carriages for the conveyance of the ſick: a fraternal partition of theſe comforts was made among all the victims of that bloody day. Without any inquietude or jealouſy the Auſtrian was ſeen with the Frenchman, who, two days before, would have cut one another's throats! they were ſeen

to receive, from the ſame hands, under the ſame roof, in the ſame chamber, the required help, and the urgent care of ſuccouring humanity!

It may not be improper to introduce in this place a few remarks upon the battle, as they were given ſhortly afterwards, by a French writer, who ſerved in the Conſular guard.

"We, nevertheleſs, had many complaints to make againſt the Auſtrians," ſays Monſieur Petit; "and it may be ſaid, that, in the whole courſe of this long and terrible war againſt liberty, but eſpecially in the day of the battle of Marengo, and thoſe which preceded it, they did not ſhew that regard for the French which a generous enemy always feels for a valiant, though conquered, foe. During twelve hours, that they had the upper hand of us, could it be believed that they made only eleven hundred priſoners, of which twenty-five were of the Conſular guard! They muſt, neceſſarily, have had many more; but, inflated with their ſucceſs (as they always are) they did not imagine that we ſhould ever be able to bring back victory to our ſtandards;—they treated us without mercy.

"The prieſts of Alexandria manifeſted a baſeneſs and cruelty towards us, for which it may be proper to mark their foreheads with the ſeal of ignominy. In the beginning of the action ſome French priſoners were conducted to Alexandria: the prieſts announced their entry by ringing the bells; cries of 'Victory!' and the enthuſiaſm of joy aſſailed the priſoners. As far as that event, however, it is lawful, ſince they may be allowed to prefer the Auſtrian to the Frenchmen; but they dared to call us names, and even to ſtrike the unfortunate, who had not the means of ſelf-defence,

and even exhibited poinards to them! And these are well-instructed civilized men, imbued with a sacred religion, who give way to such excesses. But mark —these same men, two hours after (events had changed the face of things) dared to offer to shake hands with us! Nothing is more shocking than the eagerness with which the Austrian strips off the spoil of his prisoner: not one among us preserved his sack, his hat, his cravat, or his shoes: they snatched from many Frenchmen the rings out of their ears, without giving them time to unlock them. We are positively assured also (how revolting!) that they sabred several of our comrades three or four hours after they had been taken; and it is added, that this is no uncommon case among them. It will be readily admitted, that, after such information given to us, it was well for them they were exchanged the next day.

"How ought they to blush, in seeing with what lenity and good-nature we conducted them to Milan! not one was struck or insulted; all preserved their little effects, and they followed the route as they pleased, attended quietly by only a handful of Frenchmen.

"But let us console ourselves for those acts of barbarism we have mentioned, by the recital of a trait of generous humanity: A chasseur on foot, belonging to the Consular guard, full of wounds, lay, almost dead, in the field of battle, at the moment of our retreat. Some soldiers of Bussy's legion surrounded him and disputed among themselves for his spoils: nothing was left undisposed of but his coat, which they had already stripped him of, when an Austrian colonel, by chance, came up, and driving away these inhuman fellows with his cane, asked the soldier,

whom he at firſt took for an officer, to what corps he belonged. 'I belong to the guard of the Conſul, whom you ſee before you.' replied the Chaſſeur. The Colonel, after paying a compliment to that body of men, had his ſurgeon called, and the wounded priſoner was dreſſed in his preſence and carried to the *Ambulance*. Some hours after, when they fell back, in their turn, this well-behaved officer came again, to offer him his ſervice to carry him to Alexandria. The Chaſſeur, who ſaw his deliverance near, thanked him for his generous care and concern, while he repreſented, that his wounds were too ſerious to allow him to bear the motion of the conveyance. In a ſhort time after he found himſelf in the midſt of his comrades.

"In a moment when our weapons were about to claſh with thoſe of the enemy, an Auſtrian horſeman, thrown down, lifted up his hands towards us, and begged us not to trample him to death with our horſes. Beſſières, chief of brigade, perceived him: "My friends!" he cried out to us, "open your ranks; let us ſpare this unfortunate man!" How many ſimilar traits, ſo familiar to Frenchmen, are forgotten!

"It may be ſaid that Marengo is the glorious patrimony of all the brave men who fought there: there is no one corps, ſcarce a ſingle ſoldier, who has not there gathered ſome ſprigs of laurel. But, as I conſider myſelf engaged to recount all I have ſeen and been ſatisfactorily informed of, I ſhall juſt touch on two or three occurrences, which could not well enter into the body of my Narative The modeſty of the General in Chief has made him ſilent, in his Report, concerning the dangers which he ran; ſuch

as, that he had his cloaths pierced through, and that he, more than once, saw death making way on every side of him. If we call to mind, at the same time, that his adversary, General Melas, had a contusion in his arm and two horses killed under him, we may thence easily judge what efforts the two armies made, when the chiefs thus exposed themselves for their country's welfare and their glory.

"Who would not wish to have fought in the 96th demi-brigade! who would not willingly have been in the ranks with the formidable grenadiers, like the Greeks sustaining the efforts of the whole Persian army at the Strait of Thermopylæ—with the 6th, light, the 28th of the line, the 40th, 44th, 50th, &c. &c.! who can enumerate almost as many battles they have fought as they have been days in Italy.

"What charges were made and withstood by our cavalry! what boldness and what concentration of action in the 20th regiment of cavalry concealed and made up for the weakness of its numbers! what intrepidity in the eight hundred cavalry of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, 21st and 23d regiments, conducted by the younger Kellerman, who made six thousand grenadiers, chosen troops of the enemy, lay down their arms, and by whose success an uncertain victory was secured! Our artillery was spread in very small numbers and still less provided for; but how many of these inconveniences, owing to circumstances, were ably repaired by the manner in which they were disposed, by the prodigies they operated, in order, as it were, to multiply themselves! In every place where necessity called them—always in battery, at forty paces in front, they braved the fire of triple, nay quadruple, the weight of the enemy's metal: and they

levelled and fired with *ſang-froid*, juſtneſs, and promptitude!—But it was Marmont who had the direction of them!

"The loſs of the Conſular guard was conſiderable only in infantry: in five hundred men there were two hundred and fifty-eight killed or put *hors-de-combat*. The cavalry, out of two hundred, had a tenth of that number in killed and wounded, and about as many horſes were diſabled. The light artillery was almoſt all diſmounted, and the train-horſes killed; but, by an unexampled good fortune, only one man was abſolutely killed and but a very few wounded.

"After a ſlight examination (the beſt I was enabled to make of our reſpective forces) I judged the French army, at the moment the battle commenced, to have been compoſed of from forty to forty-five thouſand men, of which three thouſand were cavalry; that it had from twenty-five to thirty pieces of cannon, in which were two companies of light artillery.

"The Auſtrian army, according to the accounts of the beſt informed perſons, contained, in ſpite of the loſs in their preceding battles, and thoſe garriſons which we took from them, and which kept the places ſtill in their power—their army, after all theſe deductions, I obſerve, might ſtill contain from fifty-five to ſixty thouſand men, including the reinforcements which had juſt arrived from Genoa. From fifteen to eighteen thouſand of theſe were cavalry; and they had more than fourſcore pieces of cannon, two hundred ammunition waggons, well provided, beſides an immenſe train of army implements and equipage! All the world knows we were not much encumbered with theſe laſt mentioned articles; and that, for want of caiſſoons, we were obliged to put our ammunition

upon tumbrils drawn by oxen, and that the little we brought into action in this manner was ſoon exhauſted.

It is not to be concealed that this victory coſt the Republic dear, by the loſs of a great number of its defenders and one of its ableſt generals; but let it be conſidered, that it was neceſſary it ſhould be obtained, to ſave the South from a certain invaſion, and France, perhaps, from a frightful devaſtation.

The whole loſs of the enemy in the courſe of this rapid campaign, including 1,500 ſick, found in the hoſpitals—as many killed—and the priſoners taken ſince the deſcent from St. Bernard, was 60,000! a loſs, which, however enormous, is not exaggerated.

After enjoying one night's repoſe the victorious army were made acquainted with the joyful intelligence of an armiſtice being agreed upon by the French and Auſtrian generals.

Buonaparté immediately announced the event to the Conſuls in a Letter, containing the terms of the Convention.

THE FIRST CONSUL TO THE REPUBLIC.

"CITIZENS CONSULS, "Garofolo, June 14.

"The day after the battle of Marengo General Melas requeſted of the advanced poſts permiſſion to ſend General Skill to me. In the courſe of the day the ſubjoined Convention was agreed upon; it was ſigned, during the night, by General Berthier and General Melas. I hope the French people will be ſatisfied with the army.

"BONAPARTE."

The morning after the memorable battle the generals entered into the Treaty, of which the following are the Articles:

CONVENTION *entered into by the Generals in Chief of the* FRENCH *and* IMPERIAL *Armies in Italy.*

ART. 1. "There ſhall be an armiſtice and ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between the armies of his Imperial Majeſty, and that of the French Republic in Italy, until an anſwer is received from the Court of Vienna.

2. "The army of his Imperial Majeſty ſhall occupy all the country, compriſed between the Mincio and Foſſa-Maeſtra and the Po; that is to ſay, Peſchiera, Mantua, Borgoforte, and thence the whole left bank of the Po, and on the right bank the city and citadel of Ferrara.

3. "The army of his Imperial Majeſty ſhall alſo occupy Tuſcany and Ancona.

4. "The French army ſhall occupy the country compriſed between the Chieſa, the Oglio, and the Po.

5. "The country between the Chieſa and the Mincio ſhall not be occupied by either of the two armies. The army of his Imperial Majeſty may draw ſubſiſtence for his troops from thoſe parts of this country which made part of the Duchy of Mantua. The French army ſhall draw ſubſiſtence from thoſe countries which made a part of the province of Breſcia.

6. "The caſtles of Tortona, of Alexandria, of Milan, of Turin, of Pizzighitone, of Arona, and of Placentia, ſhall be put into the hands of the French army between the 27th of Prarial and the 1ſt of Meſſidor; *i. e.* from the 16th to the 20th of June.

7. "The place of Coni, the caſtles of Ceva, Savona, and the city of Genoa, ſhall alſo be put into the hands of the French army between the 16th and 24th of June, or 27th Prairial and 2d Meſſidor.

8. "The fort Urbino ſhall be put into their hands the 26th of June, 7th Meſſidor.

9. "The artillery of the places ſhall be claſſed in the following manner.—Firſt, all the artillery of the Auſtrian calibre and founderies ſhall belong to the Auſtrian army.—Secondly.—That of the Italian, Piedmonteſe, and French

calibre and foundery ſhall belong to the French army.—Thirdly, The proviſions and forage ſhall be ſhared between them; the one half at the diſpoſal of the directing commiſſary of the French army, the other half at the diſpoſal of the directing commiſſary of the Auſtrian army.

10. "The garriſons ſhall march out with military honours, and repair, with arms and baggage, by the ſhorteſt route, to Mantua.

11. "The Auſtrian army ſhall repair to Mantua by Placentia, in three columns; the firſt between the 27th of Prairial and 1ſt of Meſſidor (from the 16th to the 20th of June;) the ſecond between the 1ſt and the 5th of Meſſidor (from the 20th to the 24th of June;) the third between the 5th to the 7th of Meſſidor (or from the 24th to the 25th of June.)

12. "The generals St. Julien, of Schevertinch, of the Artillery; Brun, of the Engineers; Telſiege, Commiſſary of Proviſions; and the citizens Dejean, Counſellor of State, and Daru, Inſpector of Revenues; Adjutant-general Leopold Stabenzarh; and Meſſet, the Chief of Brigade of Artillery, are named commiſſaries for carrying the preſent Convention into effect, whether in relation to the forming of inventories, providing ſubſiſtence or conveyances for the troops, or for any other object.

13. "No individual ſhall be ill-treated on account of any ſervice rendered the Auſtrian army, or for any political opinions. The Auſtrian General engages to releaſe all perſons in the ſtrong places under his command, who may have been taken up in the Ciſalpine Republic for political opinions.

14. "Whatever may be the anſwer from Vienna, neither of the two armies ſhall attack the other till after giving ten days previous notice.

15. "During the ſuſpenſion of arms neither of the armies ſhall ſend detachments into Germany.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER BERTHIER, L.S.
"MELAS, General of Cavalry, L.S.

"Alexandria, 26th Prairial (15th of June 1800.")

The ſame day the French priſoners were reſtored, and the Conſul ſet out for Milan.—Before his departure he made General Melas a preſent of a Turkiſh ſabre, brought from Egypt. The latter ſaid to Lacuée, Buonaparté's aid-de-camp, who delivered it to him: "I am ſorry that peace has been ſo long delayed; I ſhall contribute my efforts to obtain it, that I may go and ſee Buonaparté at Paris: I would even go to ſee him in Egypt."

The citadel of Milan agreeing to ſurrender, the garriſon, four thouſand in number, marched out with the honours of war. Thoſe troops, conſiſting of the regiments of Rohan and Buſſy, were principally compoſed of French priſoners, who had been taken in the retreat of Scherer; and many of them deſerted to the Conſular ſtandard.

General Melas and his ſtaff left Alexandria on the 18th, with the firſt column of his army, amounting to 10,000 men for Mantua, by the way of Voghera, Stradella, Placentia, and Parma; his baggage forming a train of 4,000 carriages! the other diviſions of the army followed him.

The French army found at Tortona 120 pieces of cannon; at Alexandria they found 200 pieces; and everywhere a proportionate quantity, with rich magazines of ammunition and proviſions.

On the 20th June the army from Genoa reached their comrades at Milan; and, all together, received the expreſſion of national gratitude, offered to them by their Country, in the following

ADDRESS

From the Miniſter of War to the GENERAL IN CHIEF *of the Armies of the Republic.*

"I loſe no time, Citizen General, in tranſmitting to you,

by order of the Conſuls, the Arrêtes which the Conſervative Senate and the Tribunate have come to, on occaſion of the memorable Battle of Marengo.

"Fame has blazed, throughout all France, the details of that victory, which, by ſubmitting to our power, in one day, almoſt all the fortreſſes in Italy, has decided the fate of that part of Europe. The Army of Reſerve has obtained this glory—it has fulfilled its deſtiny—it has achieved every thing that could be expected from it, even with the Firſt Conſul at its head, and being commanded, as it was, by the old companions of his firſt exploits! Such is the glory of that day, that all the armies of the Republic will boaſt of having taken a ſhare in it—they will all be proud of having drawn from their boſoms thoſe columns, who, ſwollen in their numbers by the conſcripts, that flocked together at the call of honour and of the country, have formed that army, which, under an unaſſuming name, went forth, and conquered both Italy and peace.

"The victory of Marengo threw out a ſignal to the army of the Rhine; it was attended to by that army, and anſwered by new ſucceſſes.

"But, in this conflux of victories, the whole of France, as well as the Army of Reſerve, deplores the loſs of General Deſaix, with whoſe exploits both Europe and Aſia reſound, and whoſe virtues are regretted by every well conſtituted mind.

"If there be any ſentiment that can aſſuage the bitterneſs of thoſe regrets, it is the pleaſing reflection, that the victory, to which he contributed by the loſs of his life, may be regarded as the forerunner of a glorious and ſolid peace: the armiſtice granted by the Chief Conſul is the firſt ſtep towards it. The wiſh expreſſed by France is on the eve of being accompliſhed; and her Firſt Magiſtrate has again acquired the title of Conqueror only to begin to unite with it that of Pacificator.

"Health and fraternity,

"CARNOT."

At Milan Buonaparté endeavoured to make himself agreeable to his devotees as well as to his heroes: he gratified the latter by ordering Proclamations, and the former by ordering *Te Deums*; and they, in return, were willing to compliment him as the Grand Conſul.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Proceedings of the Army of the Rhine.—Convention between Auſtria and Great Britain.—Further Preparations on the part of France.—Armiſtice in Germany.

NO proviſion was made by the Convention of Alexandria for extending the armiſtice to the armies on the Rhine, whoſe operations had not been of a very extenſive kind during the time that the campaign in Italy had laſted.

It was a moſt material point with Moreau, that he ſhould be able to maintain his poſition; and, had he ventured to paſs into the Auſtrian States before the fate of Italy was decided, the iſſue might not have conferred upon him the fame due to intrepidity and courage, but have ſtigmatized him with the obloquy due to temerity and preſumption. The general was not, however, wholly unemployed during this interval, as it muſt have required much time and attention to organize and enforce the demand of a very extenſive requiſition of horſes and cattle, beſide large contributions in money, from the territories of which he had gained poſſeſſion; viz. from the Landgrave of Furſtenburg 500,000 florins; from the town of Uberlingue 30,000; from Memmingen 60,000 from Biberach 45,000; from Buſhorn 30,000; from Ravenſburg 30,000; from Pfullendorf 20,000; from Salmanſweil 100,000; from St. Blaiſe 200,000; from the Abbey Buchan 50,000; from Althauſen 50,000; from Schaffenvied 25,000; from the Abbey of Weiſſenau 25,000, and from Wangen 50,000!

The Auſtrians, on the ſide of Switzerland, attempt-

ed to harraſs that wing of Moreau's army, and ſo far ſucceeded, that General Legrand received a conſiderable check in the Blue Valley; timely reinforcement, however, obliged the Auſtrians to keep themſelves on the defenſive, and a large part of the French force, under General St. Suzanne, advanced towards Ulm, where a moſt ſanguinary action took place with General Starray, who was obliged to retire under the walls, and ſhelter himſelf under that fortreſs.

The queſtion of peace or war became peculiarly intereſting to the French, as it now depended upon the movements of Moreau's army; and the poignancy of public curioſity induced the Government to announce every event, as it occurred, in the form of a bulletin of operations. Carnot publiſhed the firſt of thoſe documents, in the form of a Report, from General Moreau to the Firſt Conſul, of the battle of Hochſtadt; and from that diſpatch an accurate idea may be formed of the ſtate of the contending armies at the time the negociations commenced.

ARMY OF THE RHINE.

Extract of a Letter from General MOREAU, *Commander in Chief of the Army of the Rhine, to the Miniſter of War.*

Neresheim, June 24, 8th year.

"I send you a Copy of my report to the Firſt Conſul of the battle of Hochstedt. M. de Kray has quitted Ulm. Our ſucceſs was of the utmoſt importance, but it was with difficulty obtained. Imagine the paſſage of a river without boats, without the means of conſtructing bridges; in ſhort, without any thing but ſwimmers and courage.

(Signed) MOREAU.

For an exact copy. (Signed) CARNOT.

General MOREAU *to the* FIRST CONSUL.

Head-quarters at Dillingen, June 22, 8th year.

" At length, Citizen Conſul, we have forced M. de Kray to quit Ulm, his ſupport. So decided a ſucceſs has given us the double advantage of ſoon determining the fate of Germany, and revenging the French name. I truſt it will have ſome influence in the negociations which your victories in Italy will produce.

" Seeing that the Auſtrian army maintained their camp at Ulm, which afforded them the means of advancing on the two banks of the Danube, and conſequently of preventing our making any progreſs of conſequence in Germany; not wiſhing to give them battle at Blaubeuren, fearing leſt they ſhould profit by my movement to proceed againſt Memmingen, unite to the Tyrol, and ſend down a corps into Italy, which would have much moleſted us, I reſolved General Lecourbe ſhould manœuvre on the Lech, hoping by that means to force General Kray to come and cover Bavaria; but he manœuvred in our rear. The battle of the 5th, which he loſt, forced him to repaſs the Danube.

" I then determined to paſs that river below Ulm, to ſeparate him by that means from his magazines at Donawert and Ratiſbonne, and thus force him to fight us. This movement was difficult and dangerous. We had neither the means of conſtructing bridges, nor boats to croſs it. The enemy had deſtroyed the former, and ſunk the latter—I reinforced the corps of General Lecourbe with five battalions and five regiments of cavalry, and I ordered him to obtain poſſeſſion of one of the bridges on the Danube, between Dillingen and Donawert.

" This General executed the movement with a degree of courage worthy every praiſe. After having ſecured the poſts of Landſberg and Augſberg, and having left the neceſſary troops there to protect his rear againſt the corps of the Prince de Reuſs, ſtationed in the Tyrol, and which Generals Nanſouti and Molitor have beaten every time it

has made its appearance, he approached Dillingen, Blenheim, and Hochſtedt.

"I had directed the corps of General Grenier,—the right to the Danube and the left to Kiſendeiff. General Richpanſe, placed on the two banks of the Iller, covered the road from Ulm to Memmingen, and protected our communications with Helvetia, which parties of the enemy had greatly interrupted. The three diviſons of reſerve, under my orders, were between the Camblac and the Mandel, deſtined to ſupport the attack of General Lecourbe, and that which General Grenier was to make againſt Guntzbourg, if the firſt failed.

"The army was thus ſituated on the 18th of June. After ſeveral engagements we forced the enemy to retreat to Ulm.—General Lecourbe on this day informed us of his having obtained poſſeſſion of the bridge of Dillingen, and we determined ſeriouſly to attempt, on the next day, to gain thoſe of Grenſheim, Blenheim and Hochſtedt.

"Eighty naked ſwimmers, armed with muſkets and cartouch-boxes, which they drew after them in three little boats, obtained poſſeſſion of the villages of Grenſheim and Blenheim, took the pieces of cannon, which had been ſerved by the cannoneers who had been placed at the cut of the bridge, and, maintaining themſelves with extraordinary valour, while the pioneers and pontooneers laboured under the fire of the enemy, with a valour equal to their activity, in repairing the bridges, on which they paſſed ſuccours, to oppoſe the reinforcements which the enemy ſent towards thoſe points, which they could not doubt were the object of attack.

"The 94th demi-brigade paſſed after the ſwimmers, and courageouſly obtained poſſeſſion of the villages of Grenſheim and Blenheim, Langenau and Schavingen, where General Marigni was ſlightly wounded. But this demi-brigade would have had much difficulty in ſupporting itſelf in theſe villages, notwithſtanding its prodigious valour, without an extremely vigorous charge of two ſquadrons of the 1ſt regiment of carabineers, commanded by Citizen

Grimblot: they passed, one by one, over the bridge of Grenshem.—A squadron of the 8th of hussars, of the escort of General Lecourbe, had joined them.—They cut to pieces a corps of the enemy's cavalry, thrice their number, took six pieces of cannon, 250 horses, and several standards: Four pieces of artil ery, which were brought up to reinforce them, were also taken away. The corps which came from Donawert was almost wholly destroyed; the brigade of General Laval began the pursuit: he stopped to oppose the corps which had come from Hochstedt, Dillingen, and Lavingen. After several charges, in which the carabineers, cuirassiers, the 9th and the 6th of cavalry, and the 9th of hussars, distinguished themselves, they took about 2,000 men, with their cannon and standards.

"The enemy's forces were considerably augmented. The troops began to arrive from Ulm, and the bridges of Dillingen and Lavingen having been re-established, allowed the divisions of Decaen and Grandjean to join them wi h their cavalry, and to assist in a final charge of 4,000 horses, who drove the enemy beyond the Drenz, and rendered us masters of the position beyond Gundelfingen.

"The 6th chasseurs, the 13th cavalry, the 4th hussars, and the 11th chasseurs, distinguished themselves in this affair.—The remainder of this division and that of General Leclerc, rapidly passed the Danube, and, on their arrival, formed themselves in such a manner as was best adapted to enable them to resist the efforts which we presumed the enemy would make next day. General Grenier was also prepared to pass the Danube at Guntsburg; but they had previously cut away the arches of the bridge, had placed on the part on their side, straw, pitch, and other combustibles, in order to burn it at the moment of our attack. Scarce had they executed their intention, than they beheld our swimmers in the water: some of the latter had the boldness to attempt to extinguish the flames under the fire of the enemy: but that was impossible. The next day the corps of General Grenier advanced against Lavingen. General

Richepanſe was preparing to inveſt Ulm when the enemy's army abandoned it, leaving behind merely a garriſon.

"Theſe combats have taken place on the famous theatre of war, Hochſtedt. General Lecourbe, who has evinced on this occaſion extraordinary courage and talents, has been perfectly ſeconded by Generals Gudin, Montichard Deſpau, Laval, Schiner, and Putod. The corps of cavalry, which I have mentioned to have been directed by General Hautpoult and Devigne, has performed prodigies of valour. The conduct of the ſwimmers, commanded by Citizen Degrometri, adjutant of the 94th demi-brigade, is an inſtance of intrepidity of which there are few examples. Citizens Caban and Galboi directed the artillery with infinite ſkill and bravery.

"The Chief of the etat major will give you a more detail-account of this affair; he will name thoſe to whom I have promiſed honorary muſkets. I will ſend you the ſtandards by Citizen Varelay, Aid de-Camp of General Lecourbe, who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and by the Commander of the ſwimmers. The 10th light, the 37th, the 1ſt battalion of the 46th and the 1ſt of the 57th, as well as the 14th; in ſhort, all who have fought, have given repeated proofs of bravery.

"The loſs of the enemy, without reckoning killed and wounded, is about 5,000 priſoners, twenty pieces of cannon, and five ſtandards.

"The next day, the 6th regiment of chaſſeurs took a convoy of 300 waggons, laden with grain. M. de Kray has quitted Ulm, and it is ſaid is marching to give us battle. We hope to meet him half way.

(Signed) "MOREAU."

From an exact Copy.

(Signed) "CARNOT."
Miniſter of War."

Such a rapid ſucceſſion of defeats left the Emperor of Germany no choice between an immediate peace

or an entire ſubjugation; but, unfortunate as he has uniformly been, the *mal-adroit* genius of the Allies threw itſelf in the way, and tempted him to encreaſe his embarraſſments, by concluding a new convention with Great Britain juſt before he received intelligence of the battle of Marengo. When Buonaparté's new overtures reached Vienna, the Engliſh were preſſing the exhauſted reſources of the Empire for new ſtruggles; and, it will appear by the treaty, that the unhappy Francis could hardly have broken an alliance ſo recently formed, without an apparent ſacrifice of honour, that muſt have given a refined mind more pain than it could be expected to ſubmit to.

CONVENTION

Between his BRITANNIC MAJESTY *and the* EMPEROR *of the* ROMANS.

"HIS Majeſty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, have judged, that it was conformable to the intereſt of their crowns, and to the good of the common cauſe, to concert with each other on the beſt manner of giving effect to the union of their efforts againſt the common enemy in the preſent campaign. In conſequence of which, the Baron de Thugut, Grand Croſs of the Order of St. Stephen, his Imperial Majeſty's Miniſter of Conferences, and Commiſſary-General and Miniſter Plenipotentiary in his provinces of Italy, Iſtria, Dalmatia, &c. and the Right Hon. Gilbert Lord Minto, Peer of Great Britain, one of his Britannic Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the Court of Vienna, being furniſhed on the part of their aforeſaid Imperial and Britannic Majeſties, with the powers requiſite for diſcuſſing and arranging this important object; the ſaid Plenipotentiaries, after having reſpectively exchanged

their full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

"I. In order to relieve the preſſing neceſſities of the finances of his Imperial Majeſty, under the enormous expenses already incurred, and which remain to be incurred during the preſent campaign, his Britannic Majeſty ſhall advance to his abovementioned Imperial Majeſty, by way of loan, the ſum of 2,000,000l. ſterling. This ſum ſhall be divided into three parts, and paid at three different periods, preferably in ſpecie; ſo that the firſt-third of 666,666l. 13s. 4d. ſhall be paid in the firſt days of the month of July; the ſecond third of the like ſum in the firſt days of September; and the remaining third in the firſt days of the month of December.

"II. During the whole continuance of the war, and during the ſix months which ſhall follow the concluſion of a peace between Auſtria and France, his Imperial Majeſty ſhall not be bound to pay any intereſt upon the ſum of two millions advanced as ſtipulated in the preceding article, Great Britain conſenting to take this charge upon her own account until the period abovementioned. But on the expiration of the term of ſix months after the concluſion of peace, his Imperial Majeſty ſhall pay for the future to the Britiſh Government, or to the individuals who ſhall be pointed out by the Britiſh Government, an annual rent or annual rents, making altogether the amount of the intereſt of the two millions advanced; which intereſt ſhall be calculated at the ſame rate as the intereſt of the loan made on account of the Britiſh Government in the preſent year. His Imperial Majeſty ſhall moreover pay annually to the Britiſh Government the ſum of 20,000l. ſterling, at two periods; that is to ſay, 10,000l. every ſix months, which ſum ſhall be employed in the ſucceſſive purchaſe and reduction of the principal of the two millions, according to the method adopted by the Britiſh Government in its own loans.

"III. Their Imperial and Britannic Majeſties mutually promiſe each other to carry on the war againſt the French

Republic, during the preſent campaign, with all poſſible vigour, and to employ in it all their reſpective means by land and ſea, concerting together, as occaſion ſhall require, on the moſt advantageous manner of reciprocally employing their forces by land and ſea to the ſupport of their operations againſt the common enemy. His Imperial Majeſty ſhall be careful to complete his armies of Germany and of Italy in proportion to the loſſes which they have ſuſtained, in order always, as far as poſſible, to act againſt the common enemy with the ſame number of effective men, conformably to the ſtatement which his Imperial Majeſty cauſed to be confidentially communicated to the Britiſh Government on the opening of the campaign.

" IV. The Bavarian troops, thoſe of Wurtemberg, and the Swiſs regiments in the pay of Great Britain, ſhall be at the diſpoſition of his Imperial Majeſty, to form a part of his army in Germany, and to be employed there in operations againſt the enemy in conformity to the conventions and capitulations concluded on this ſubject by the King of Great Britain. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall take the neceſſary meaſures for the further reinforcement of the army of his Imperial Majeſty in Germany by as great a number as poſſible of German and Swiſs troops.

" V. Their Imperial and Britannic Majeſties engage, during the whole continuance of the preſent Convention, not to make a ſeparate peace with the French Republic, wirhout the previous and expreſs conſent of each other. They engage likewiſe not to treat with the enemy, nor to receive from him any overtures either for a private peace, or for a general pacification, without making, mutually, communications of them with openneſs, and acting in every reſpect in perfect concert.

" VI. The duration of the preſent Convention is fixed for the term of one year, to be computed from the 1ſt of March, 1800, until the end of Febuary 1801. From the month of December, and immediately after the acquittal of the laſt payment of the ſtipulated advances, the two High Contracting Parties ſhall enter into deliberation and conſi-

dential explanation upon the determinations that they may think neceſſary to adopt for the future, according to circumſtances, and their mutual convenience.

" VII. The preſent Convention ſhall be ratified in due form by their Imperial and Britannic Majeſties, and the reſpective ratifications ſhall be exchanged at Vienna in the ſpace of ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible.

" In witneſs whereof, we, the underſigned, furniſhed with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic Majeſties, have, in their names, ſigned the preſent Convention, and have affixed thereunto the ſeal of our arms.

" Done at Vienna, the 20th of June, in the year 1800.

(L. S.) " LE BARON DE THUGUT."

(L. S.) " MINTO.

Whilſt the Emperor had to maintain a kind of double conflict, between honour and intereſt with England, and between inclination and intereſt with France, there was every motive to induce him to get the benefits of the armiſtice extended, if poſſible, to Germany. General Moreau expected that ſuch an attempt would be made, and he reſolved to puſh his way to Vienna, unleſs a peace were frankly and ſpeedily concluded. He ſays, in a diſpatch to the Miniſter of War, dated Augſburg, June 29.

The COMMANDER IN CHIEF *of the Army of the Rhine to the* MINISTER AT WAR.

" The enemy, Citizen Miniſter, wiſhed to prevent us from penetrating by the Rain, and had united his army at Neubourg. As in his retreat he had gained a march on us, and we had three defiles to paſs—Vernitz, the Danube, and the Lech, where the repairing of the bridge required nearly twelve hours, the general movement was retarded: the corps, however, of General Lecourbe was able to paſs on the evening of the 26th. On the 27th he advanced into Bavaria, the diviſion of General Gudin to Poetmeſt, and that of General Montrichard to Neubourg.

"The latter found at Oberhauſen a conſiderable body of the enemy, commanded by General Kray, who in perſon began an obſtinate combat. General Lecourbe haſtened hither at the moment when our troops were forced to yield to triple forces, and maintained the combat till the arrival of the brigade of General Grandjean, who paſſed the Lech, and advanced with great rapidity to ſupport the diviſion of Montrichard, who was ſtill maintaining himſelf by his great valour.

"A battalion of the 14th light, two of the 46th of the line, and two of the 57th, attacked the enemy with an intrepidity of which there have been but few inſtances. The enemy was defeated notwithſtanding his great forces, and during the night effected his retreat to Ingolſtadt, along both banks of the Danube, after burning the bridge of Neubourg. The brave Chief of the 46th, Forti, and the firſt grenadier of the Republic, Lateure d'Auvergne, who combated in the ranks of the firſt company of that corps, were killed, as well as two other captains. All the troops performed prodigies. The 84th, the 37th, the 109th, and a battalion of the 10th light, forming the diviſion of Montrichard, withſtood the effort of almoſt the whole Auſtrian army till the arrival of reinforcements. The Auſtrian Generals ſaid at Neubourg, when they retired, "This army is invincible: the French never fought ſo well." There were alſo ſome charges of cavalry by the 4th and 9th huſſars, and the chaſſeurs of the 11th, who diſplayed particular inſtances of bravery, an account of which will be given you by the Chief of the ſtaff. You will alſo, forthwith, receive intereſting details reſpecting our marches and battles of Neureſheim and Norolingen, and the attempt made by the enemy to bring us to a negotiation for an armiſtice, under a pretence of the Convention, entered into by the armies of Italy, and which would have given them time to eſtabliſh themſelves in Bavaria. This I foreſaw, and General Decaen ſet out with his diviſion,

by forced marches, for Munich, which he entered yesterday morning.

(Signed) "MOREAU."

The situation of the Emperor was now truly alarming; for the French were preparing to take General Kray in flank and rear, that, by cutting off his retreat to the Hereditary States, they might surround him in a manner similar to that which had been employed for the destruction of Melas. The General, however, avoided the danger by a hasty retreat to the frontiers of the Circle of Austria, in order to defend the Hereditary States; but after Moreau had fixed his head-quarters, he pushed his advanced guard along the Iser, in pursuit of the Austrian commander, who, abandoning Landshut, on the 2d of July, effected the passage of the Inn, and established his head-quarters at Brannau. The French, on the same day, appeared on the left bank of that river, whilst another division of the Republican army reached Neustadt at the same time, situated on the South side of the Danube, 21 miles East of Ingolstadt, where they experienced no opposition. Klenau, at the head of 7,000 men, found himself incapable of resisting the impetuosity of the French, amounting to 13,000 men, and therefore retreated under the walls of Ratisbon (20 miles North-east of Neustadt), while General Stzarray stationed himself at Wurtzburg, situated on the Maine, in the circle of Franconia, and bishopric of the same name, to defend Bohemia against the attacks of Sufanne, who was penetrating into Franconia in that direction, and soon to be joined by Angereau from Holland, at the head of 15,000 men. Grenier proceeded to Nurenberg, which place he entered on the 7th of July,

with a view to watch the motions of General Stzarray. Two days after this, Suzanne, paſſed the Maine, but in his attempts to penetrate to Aſchaifenberg he was finally repulſed.

That diviſion of Moreau's army, which was commanded by Lecourbe, ſuddenly made a retrograde movement, aſcended the Lech, and formed a junction at Kempton with General Molitor, made himſelf maſter of Feldkirch, Coire, (both in the Rheinthal), and the whole of the Griſons, and united with the army of Italy, a part of which, under the orders of Moncey, had gained poſſeſſion of the Valteline. In this manner was a free communication eſtabliſhed between the army of Germany and that of Italy, from the river Danube to the Mediterranean; their centre defended by Switzerland, their two wings by the gulph of Genoa on the right, and the Danube on the left, they were everywhere fortified by advantageous poſitions.

Berthier had now encreaſed the Army of Reſerve 150,000, which being unemployed in Italy, he was ready to pour into Germany as Moreau might require them; yet it will appear by the following Letter of the Miniſter of War, that the Government was eager to increaſe it ſtill further, as if all the dangers of the campaign were to be provided againſt.

The MINISTER *of* WAR *to the* PREFECTS *and* GENERALS.

"CITIZENS, Paris, July 7.

"THE Firſt Conſul, in the name of Peace, requeſts your utmoſt ſolicitude, with regard to the departure of the Conſcripts, who have not obeyed the voice of honour.

"When, before the opening of the campaign, the Firſt Conſul propoſed Peace to ſeveral powers, thoſe powers, then elated by ſome advantages they had gained, wiſhed,

doubtleſs, to make a laſt effort, in order to profit by their momentary ſucceſs, or, at leaſt, to try what a new government could effect.

"Now that this government has received, in ſo ſhort an interval, that conformation which other governments have required ages to obtain; now, while Europe beholds the pledges of its force and its wiſdom; while victory and fortune crown it efforts; while victorious armies defend it; and repeated declarations of aſſent, from the whole nation, have highly conſecrated it; theſe ſame powers will ſurely not reject a Peace which is offered to them anew; on conditions which their reverſes have not rendered more ſevere. Should, however, the obſtinacy of the vanquiſhed diſregard the moderation of the victors; notwithſtanding the cries of their people, ſhould theſe deluded governments not yet become tired of remaining in the pay of a power which traffics in the blood of men and the miſeries of all nations, for the purpoſe of her own aggrandizement; ſhould they venture to prolong hoſtilities from which ſhe alone profits, a laſt effort muſt be made, and we muſt command that Peace which we now offer.

"It is neceſſary that the enemy ſhould know that this blow is about to be ſtruck; it is neceſſary that they ſhould chooſe either peace or a terrible and deciſive irruption. A ſecond Army of Reſerve is organizing at the ſame place whence the firſt took its departure. Old corps are aſſembling there, tried warriors command them, and young conſcripts crowd to join them from all parts of France, where honour, a love of national independence, and a deſire of peace, are not empty words. They glow with the wiſh of joining their brethren, whom glorious achievements have already placed on a level with the ancient favourites of Victory. They are eager to contribute to the termination of the war, to ſee ſervice, and to aſſiſt in ſome grand exploit, that they may not, one day, have occaſion to bluſh in the company of thoſe heroes who will people our communes.

"Generals and Prefects, cite this example to thoſe youths

whom a ſhameful indolence and an unpardonable indifference, more than a dread of arms, ſtill retain in their habitations. The French youth are entirely warlike; to arouſe them, it is ſufficient merely to talk of dangers and glory. In the army every conſcript ſoon becomes a veteran: the regret of quitting his family is the ſole ſentiment which ſtops him. Inſpire a more powerful ſentiment, the love of country, and theſe ſame young men will no longer think but of returning victorious,

"They will return, and Peace will accompany their ſteps; it is already more than half conquered. One effort more, if it be neceſſary; it will be ſhort and eaſy, if it be but general; it will be rendered unneceſſary, if we are ſeen in an attitude to make it; and the hands which ſtill wield a ſword will drop it, in order to ſign a treaty of friendſhip.—I ſalute you.

(Signed) "CARNOT."

The French now occupied ſuch an immenſe frontier, that the Emperor had not a moment to loſe; another defeat might place the enemy in view of the Capital; and, under theſe circumſtances, that Prince was compelled to agree to an armiſtice, a prelude to a definitive peace. The firſt three articles relate only to the powers of the plenipotentiaries and the line of demarkation, and the ſubſtance of the Armiſtice was as follows:

"IV. The fortreſſes compriſed within the line of demarcation, which are ſtill occupied by the Imperial troops, ſhall remain, in all reſpect, in their preſent condition, which ſhall be aſcertained by Commiſſioners appointed to that effect, by Generals in Chief of both armies. No addition ſhall be made to their means of defence, and they ſhall not interrupt the free navigation of the rivers and communications paſſing within the limits of their command, which are fixed at two thouſand toiſes from the body of

the place. Their ſupplies ſhall be renewed every ten days only, and in the proportion of their regular conſumption. Theſe ſupplies ſhall not be drawn from the diſtricts occupied by the French army, which, on its part, ſhall not prevent their arrival.

" V The General in Chief of the Imperial army may ſend an Officer into each of thoſe fortreſſes, to inform the Commandants of the conduct they are to hold, in conformity to the preceding article.

" VI. There ſhall be no bridges acroſs the rivers which ſeparate the two armies, but where they are interſected by the line of demarcation, in which caſe, the bridges ſhall be in the rear of that line; with the exception of particular arrangements which may be afterwards deemed neceſſary, either for the accommodation of the reſpective armies, or for the purpoſes of commerce. The Generals in Chief of the two armies ſhall come to an explanation upon theſe points.

" VII. Wherever navigable rivers ſeparate the two armies, the navigation, whether for their benefit or that of the inhabitants, ſhall not be interrupted by either army; and wherever there are cauſeways from the line of demarcation, they ſhall be uſed by both armies for the conveyance of their ſupplies during the armiſtice.

" VII. The portion of the territory of the Empire, and of the States of his Imperial Majesty, comprehended within the line of demarcation of the French army, is put under the ſafeguard of its honour, with reſpect to maintaining the rights of property, and the preſent forms of the governments of the different States. The inhabitants of thoſe countries ſhall not be called to an account for the ſervices they may have performed to the Imperial army, for their political opinions, nor for their having taken an active part in the war.

" IX. This Convention ſhall be ſpeedily tranſmitted to all the Commanders of corps belonging to the two armies; in order that hoſtilities ſhall not only be ſuſpended, but

that the execution of it may be immediately commenced, and be effected at a period absolutely necessary, taking into consideration the respective distances. Officers of the Staff shall be respectively charged with determining on the spot the demarcation of limits as to points where the general terms would leave any thing doubtful.

" X. There shall be no communication between the advanced posts of the two armies.

Interchanged at Larsdorff, 15th July, 1800.

(Signed) " V. F. LAHORIE."
Brigadier General.
" Count DIETRICHTEIN,
Major General, and Engineer in the Service of his Imperial Majesty."
(A true Copy) " DESOLLES,
General of Division, and Chief of the Staff."

Whilst the Armistice was negociating, and after it was signed, the Emperor continued his efforts to prevail on France to treat, in conjunction with Great Britain: and it was proposed that a General Congress of Plenipotentiaries from Austria and her Allies, should meet others from France, and her Allies; this proposal led to a long discussion between France and England, relative to a Maritime Armistice, which delayed the work of peace much beyond the period that had been at first expected.

CHAPTER XIX.

Departure of the Conſul from Milan.—His Arrival at Paris.—Emperor of Ruſſia evinces a hoſtile Diſpoſition againſt the Engliſh.—Fête of the 14th of July.—Decimal Syſtem of France.—Freſh Attempt of the Engliſh to renew the Civil War in the Departments of France.

THE natural activity of Buonaparté did not permit him to remain in Italy long after he had atchieved the grand exploit of the campaign. He left Milan on the 25th of June, and reached Vercelli on the ſame evening. On the 26th he reached Turin, where he viſited the citadel, and reviewed the diviſion of General Turreau. Between the 26th and 27th, during the night, he paſſed Mount Cenis. On the 28th, in the morning, he arrived at Chamberry, from whence he proceeded to Lyons, and reached that city on the ſame evening. He was received with great diſtinction by the Conſtituted Authorities in this celebrated city, and was waited upon by the Prefect, and all the civil and military officers, as well as the principal people of the place. On this occaſion he gained much popularity, by giving audience to the Chamber of Commerce, the members of which he endeavoured to aſſure, that after everything ſhould be completed for rendering the arms of the country illuſtrious, he would take ſuch meaſures as ſhould ſecure the ſucceſs of its trade. At ſeven in the morning, the 30th of June, he arrived at Dijon; General Brune, commander in chief, and the principal officers

of the army, came out to meet him, and, afterwards, attended him to a review of the army, whom he encouraged, by citing the example of their predeceſſors. The Conſul merely ſtopped to breakfaſt with General Brune, and took his departure for Paris, which he reached in the night between the 1ſt and 2d of July; having been only fifty-eight days abſent on a campaign which, in its conſequences, laid the whole civilized world proſtrate before him.

On his journey towards the Capital, the Conſul put into practice that art of affected modeſty which Frederic the Third had adopted to catch the admiration of the ignorant rabble; his poſtilions received orders to avoid, as much as poſſible, the demonſtrations of applauſe, which it was ſuppoſed the gratitude of the people would greet him with on his paſſage; and, by appearing to think himſelf undeſerving of ſuch diſtinctions, he ſpared himſelf the mortification of witneſſing any inſtances of neglect, if thoſe diſtinctions ſhould have been withheld, and, at all events, the fatigue and interruption that they would have occaſioned.

When Buonaparté arrived at Paris, the Conſuls and Miniſters, with the Senators and Councellors of State, flocked around him, to congratulate him on the brilliant concluſion of the campaign. At eleven o'clock on the 2d, when the two Conſuls, and the Secretaries of State entered the Thuilleries, the guns of the palace and of Montmatre announced his arrival. The firſt words of the Conſul, on ſeeing the Council of State, were, "Citizens! here I am again, have you done much ſince I left you?" The anſwer from twenty mouths at once was, as was natural from ſuch an aſſembly, and upon ſuch an occaſion,

"Not so much as you, General." On perceiving General Kellerman, he said, "Your son has distinguished himself," to which he added, "I wish for peace, as do the troops of Austria."

The streets of Paris rang with the shouts of "*vive Buonaparté!*" and the inhabitants of Lyons caused a medal to be struck to commemorate his visit to their city, where he had been prevailed upon to lay the first stone in the building of the *Place de Bellicour*.

Before his arrival at Paris, the good fortune of the Consul made him acquainted with a most extraordinary change that the capricious mind of the Emperor of Russia was operating in his favour. That unrestrained and unruly Despot, had conceived an antipathy against his former allies, which evinced itself in a particular manner, in an attempt to raise a hostile spirit, in the North of Europe, against the naval power of Britain. Without provocation, he seized upon all the English vessels in his ports, and sent their crews into captivity; prohibiting all communication with that country, as well as the use of its manufactories in his dominions.

By aggravating the complaint made against the English navy or its treatment of neutrals, he prevailed upon Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, to unite with him in a confederacy against England, the object of which was to oblige that country to abandon the principle of maritime law, technically called the Rule of the War of 1756; and to admit, that, in all cases, free ships should make free goods.

Without entering in o the whole of this question at present, it will appear evident, that a more fortunate circumstance could not have occurred for the First Consul, whose fleets were blocked up in port.

It was a renewal of the unjuſt claims ſo frequently urged by America; and he ſaw reaſon to hope, that Great Britain would ſuffer herſelf to be bullied into conceſſions that would, in effect, have given him all the neutral nations of the world for auxillaries.

The victories and ſucceſſes of the French arms, afforded the Government a convenient opportunity of indulging the Pariſian taſte for public fêtes and exhibitions; and, as the Conſul could not yet declare his undisguiſed views relative to the Republic, it was reſolved to celebrate the anniverſary of the Revolution of the 14th of July, with unuſual ſplendour.

Upon this occaſion the ſtandards taken at the battle of Marengo, and by the Army of Italy, were formally preſented to the Government, in preſence of the people, aſſembled at the *Champ de Mars*, by General Laſne, and the *chef d'eſcadre* Berthier, accompanied by appropriate ſpeeches. In his anſwer, the Chief Conſul, in a manner to give all the honour of the ſeveral victories to the generals, ſaid, "The ſtandards preſented to the Government, in the preſence of the people of this immenſe Capital, atteſt the genius of the generals in chief Moreau, Maſſena, and Berthier; the military talents of the generals, their lieutenants, and the bravery of the French army. On their return to the camps, tell the ſoldiers, that, for the æra of the 23d of September, when we ſhall celebrate the anniverſary of the Republic, the French people expect *the publication of peace*, or, if the enemy ſhould oppoſe inſurmountable obſtacles, *new ſtandards, will be the fruits of new victories.*"

At this fête Buonaparté acquired much popularity, by an invitation he gave to ſuch of the invalids as had received medals at the Temple of Mars, to dine with

him; amongſt them were two venerable old men, one aged 104 and the other 107 years.

In anſwer to the conſtant flattery and fulſome adulation that was offered to him, he took occaſion to let the good people know they had not yet offered him what he conſidered to be his price; and he, very early, dropped a hint of his expecting ſome greater reward of his ſervices than what they had already conferred; for he declared, to a committee which had been ſent to him, "That, after the time of his Conſulſhip was expired, and for a year longer, he would accept nothing from the people; but if, ſubſequent to that period, they ſhould chooſe to apply to him the article of the Conſtitution which decrees, that ſome great recompenſe ſhall be given to thoſe warriors who have ſignalized themſelves in defence of the Republic, he would then accept their kindneſs with gratitude." This was allowing time for one party to increaſe his value and for the other to grow generous.

It cannot, indeed, be denied by the bittereſt enemies of the Conſul, that if he deſigned to bend and mould the French people to his intereſt, he as diligently applied himſelf to become uſeful to them; and though it would be a waſte of time to detail the various improvements and regulations ſuggeſted by him during the early part of his Conſulate, as they were founded upon the principles of the Republic, and, therefore, were only deſigned by him to continue till they ſhould be further modified, according as his projects might ripen; yet it would be improper to omit noticing the zealous and effectual ſupport he gave to the new ſyſtem of Weights and Meaſures, that had been ſuggeſted by the early revolutioniſts and oppoſed by all the bigots and knaves in Europe,

who, like the ſupporters of kingcraft and prieſtcraft, find a ſyſtem of complication and myſtery neceſſary to enable them to impoſe upon the ignorant.

Among the great ideas, realized during the firſt period of the Revolution, muſt be reckoned that of a uniform ſyſtem of Weights and Meaſures. From all parts of France remonſtrances were ſent againſt the great variety of thoſe in uſe: ſeveral kings had endeavoured to remedy this evil, which was ſo hurtful to lawful trade and favourable only to fraud and double dealing; yet what *they* had not been able to effect was undertaken by the Conſtituent Aſſembly: it declared that there ought to be but one ſtandard of weights and meaſures in a country ſubject to the ſame laws. The Academy of Sciences was charged to ſeek and preſent the beſt mode of carrying this decree into execution: that ſociety propoſed the adoption of the decimal diviſion, by taking for a fundamental unit the ten-millionth part of the quarter of the terreſtial meridian. The motives which determined this choice were, the extreme ſimplicity of decimal calculation and the advantage of having a meaſure taken from nature. The latter condition would, in truth, have been accompliſhed, had there been taken as a fundamental unit the length of the pendulum, marking ſeconds for a given latitude; but the meaſure of an arc of the meridian, executed with the preciſion to be obtained by the methods and inſtruments of the preſent day, was extremely intereſting in regard to the theory of the figure of the earth: this influenced the deciſion of the Academy.

All the meaſures of the metrical ſyſtem were deduced from a baſe taken from nature, the fourth part

of the terrestial meridian; and the diviſions of thoſe meaſures are all ſubjected to the decimal order employed in arithmetic.

In order to eſtabliſh this baſe, the grand and important work of taking a new meaſure of the terreſtial meridian from Dunkirk to Barcelona was begun in 1792: at the expiration of ſeven years it was terminated; and the Inſtitute preſented the reſult to the Legislative Body, with the original table of the new meaſures.

Mechain and Delambre meaſured the angles of ninety triangles with the new reflecting circles, imagined by Mayer, and which Borda had cauſed to be conſtructed: with theſe inſtruments they made four obſervations of latitude at Dunkirk, Paris, Evaux, Carcaſſonne and Barcelona; two baſes, meaſured near Melun and Perpignan, with rules of platina and copper, forming metallic thermometers, were connected with the triangles of the meridian line: the total interval, which was 9°.6738, was found to be 551584.72 toiſes. As the degrees progressively diminiſhed towards the South, but much more towards the middle than towards the extremities, the middle of the whole arc was taken, and, on comparing it with the degrees meaſured at Peru, between the years 1737 and 1741, the ellipticity of the earth was concluded to be 1-334th; the mean degree, 57,008 toiſes; and the *metre*, which is the ten-millionth part of the quarter of the meridian, 443.296 lines of the old French toiſes which had been uſed at Peru.

The commiſſioners ſent from foreign countries verified all the calculations and ſanctioned the reſults. The experiments of the pendulum, made at the obſervatory, with extreme care, by Borda, Mechain, and

Caſſini, with a new apparatus, conſtructed by Lenoir, ſhewed the pendulum to be 10.99385 of the *metre*, on reducing it to the freezing point and in *vacuo*; this would be ſufficient for finding again the *metre*, though all the ſtandards were changed or loſt.

In order to diffuſe the knowledge of the ſyſtem as extenſively as poſſible, it was explained in all the gazettes, almanacks, and fugitive publications of the Republic, in the following ſimple manner.

Having correctly aſcertained the diſtance between the equator and the pole, that quarter of the meridian is divided into ten parts, which gives 225 leagues:

That part is again divided into ten parts, which gives 22 leagues and one half:

A third diviſion, into ten parts, gives a diſtance of 513.2 toiſes:

This part, divided in its turn, into ten parts, gives 513 2 toiſes:

By a fifth diviſion is obtained a length of 51.32 toiſes:

The ſixth diviſion gives a length of 4,430 lines; and

The ſeventh diviſion, which is taken as the ſtandard of all French meaſure, and is, therefore, expreſsly called the *metre*, gives three feet eleven lines, or four hundred and forty-three lines—a meaſure very nearly correſponding with the *verge* of Paris. This meaſure alſo, divided decimally, by a further ſubdiviſion produces the *decimetre*, or tenth part of the *metre*, meaſuring 44 3-19 lines: A further ſubdiviſion aſcertains the hundredth part of the *metre*, and is called *centimetre*; and, laſtly, the *centimetre* is decimally divided to find the length of the *millemetre*, which is about 4-9ths of a line.

The *metre* became the baſis of all the weights and meaſures of France.

The following TABLE presents the Nomenclature of these different Measures, their divisions, and multiples, together with the new Weights, as decreed by the Legislative Body, and to it is annexed their correspondence with the English Measures and Weights.

LINEAR MEASURES.

		Miles.	F.	Y.	Ft.	Inches.
Myriamètre	10,000 Mètres	6	1	156	0	6
Kilomètre	1,000 ———	0	4	213	1	10.2
Hectomètre	100 ———	0	0	109	1	1
Décamètre	10 ———	0	0	10	2	9.7
METRE		0	0	—	3	3·371
Décimètre	10th of a Mètre	0	0	—	0	3·937
Centimètre	100th ———	0	0	—	0	0.393
Millimètre	1,000th ———	0	0	—	0	0.039

AGRARIAN MEASURES.

	Acres.	Roods.	Perches.
Myriare, *square* Kilomètre	247	0	20
Kilare	24	2	34
Hectare, *square* Hectomètre	2	1	35·4
Déctare			39·54
ARE, *square* Decamètre			3·954
Décare			·395
Centiare, *square* metre			·039

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

Kilolitre, *cubic* Mètre	69.1739	cubic feet	... 61028 cubic inches.
Hectolitre	2.9174		... 6102 8
Décalitre	0.2917		... 610.28
LITRE, *cubic* Décimètre	50.4124	cubic inches	... 61.028
Décilitre	5.0412		... 6.1028
Centilitre	0.5041		... .6102
Millitre, *cubic* Centimètre	0.0504		... .061

N. B. A Litre is nearly equal to two pints and one-eighth, Engliſh Wine Meaſure.

MEASURES FOR WOOD.

Stère *cubical* Mètre	29.1739	cubic feet	... 35.3171 cubic feet.
Déciſtère	2.9174		... 3.5317
Centiſtère	0.2917		... .3531
Milliſtère, *cubic* Décimètre	0.0291		... 0.353

WEIGHTS.

	lbs.	oz.	drams.	grains.		TROY. lbs.	oz.	dwts.	grains.
Myriagramme	20	6	6	63.5	...	26	9	15	0.23
Kilogramme, weight of the cubic Décimètre of water at 4 degrees. which is the *maximum* of denſity	2	0	5	35.15	...	2	8	3	12.02
Hectogramme		3	2	10.72	...		3	4	8.40
Décagramme			2	44 27	...			6	10.44
GRAMME, wt. of the cubic Centimètre at the freezing point				18.827	...				15.444
Décigramme				1.883	...				1.544
Centigramme				0.188	...				.154
Milligramme, weight of the cubic Millimètre of water				0.019	...				.015

This ſyſtem Buonaparté determined to eſtabliſh throughout the French dominions, and the prefects were inſtructed to perſevere in getting it adopted in their ſeveral departments, however ſtrong the prejudice of the people might be againſt it. All the public offices introduced it into their own practice and all the duties and impoſts were levied upon its principles. Each chief magiſtrate was enjoined to provide a ſufficient ſupply of the new weights and meaſures for the demands of the merchants and citizens who might chooſe to adopt them, and he was reſponſible for their being iſſued correctly according to the national ſtandard, each article bearing the arms of the nation and of the particular arrondiſement from whoſe municipaiity it had been received.

Much patience was exerciſed with the obſtinate, to perſuade them ſo far to accommodate themſelves to the general convenience as to adopt this one uniform principle of trade; and when they perſiſted in adhering to their old local ſtandards, public notice was given by the magiſtrates, that, at the end of three months, they ſhould fine all traders who continued to ſell by the old weights and meaſures: the fines were not levied, and the notice was repeated, with freſh threats, for the next three months. Thus, by a mixture of perſeverance and forbearance, the Conſul, at length, carried his point: yet, if we may be permitted to anticipate ſo far, we muſt ſay, that it was not till 1803 that the ſyſtem was entirely adopted throughout all the French dominions.

This one act of the Conſul ought to cover a multitude of faults; and it naturally follows, that other governments, whoſe ſtupid attachment to the follies of their fathers continues to curſe their ſubjects with

all the confuſion that is connected with pounds, that in one place mean ſixteen ounces, in another eighteen, in another twenty, and a train of concomitant evils, ought to provide their people with much happineſs ſome other way, to counterbalance their negligence and miſrule in this reſpect.

To return to our Narrative. We muſt direct the reader's attention once more to the Weſtern Departments of France, where the Engliſh Government had again commenced its nibbling and vexatious ſyſtem of warfare, after the amneſty had, in a great meaſure, reconciled the people to the government.

A very extenſive expedition was fitted out in the Engliſh ports, which reached the place of its deſtination *(as every thing Engliſh does)* a little too late to do what it was deſigned for! The intention of the Engliſh Goverment was, it ſhould ſeem, to reach the French coaſt time enough to keep a large body of the French from going to Italy: but whether the generals had not their hunters ready, or their ladies had not their toilets fitted up, or what other weighty reaſon delayed the expedition, the nations of Europe have never been able to gueſs; yet it happened that Buonaparté had got his army into Italy before the Engliſh arrived on the coaſt!

At Quiberon, and on the neighbouring coaſt, the Engliſh made good a landing, and the few French who had been diſguſted at the execution of Frotte joined them: but no advantage whatever was gained by this trifling ſucceſs; for the Conſular Government diſpatched General Bernadotte, from the department of Vilaine, who with a few troops drove them from the coaſt!

Georges and Guittimo, two chiefs of the former

insurrection, endeavoured, in vain, to raise the people again in rebellion against the government, now, apparently, too prudent to give ground to an enemy who had not sense enough to keep possession of the advantages he had. It was now seen that the English had not spirit enough to maintain themselves in the posts that were procured for them: their time-serving attempts were made merely to annoy their enemy upon some temporary occasion, and not to gain any solid advantage either for themselves or the unfortunate people who were duped by their ill-supported manifestoes.

The warfare of the English Government was the most disgraceful species of warfare that could be carried on, for it placed that government, in the eyes of mankind, in the same light as the Executive Directory, which, in its expedition to Ireland, sent only a handful of troops, just sufficient to distract the country and betray the people. Guided alone by the sordid desire of annoying its enemy at a small expense, it regarded as nothing the lives of the inhabitants, sacrificed to its treacherous friendship! Little can be said in favour of the French mode of carrying on war, still less for that of Austria and the continental allies of Britain: but, of all the nations who have been involved in the war since the year 1792, none have less cause to be satisfied, and none have been so really and so generally dissatisfied with the mode in which its government has chosen to carry on the war as the English. That government has wantoned away money enough to have subdued a universe; but it has doled it out with so much parsimony, that it has converted the very strength of the nation into weakness; and, amidst all its bustle and bluster, it has evinced so

little ſpirit, that the enemy has been invariably ſtrengthened by every effort it has made.

The pſeudo morality, the church-going politics, of the Engliſh, diſplayed itſelf throughout the whole conduct of the war; they endeavoured to ſhape their courſe ſo as to avoid the charges of temerity aad extravagance, and thus they were only generous by degrees and courageous by halves. If a point could be gained by ſixty thouſand men, why ſixty thouſand was too great a number to riſk; thirty thouſand was all that could be hazarded without danger: thirty thouſand were ſent, and, being inadequate to the purpoſe, were loſt, as every wiſe man had foreſeen they would be: but Government obtained the negative credit of having done leſs miſchief than it might have done, and the nation was cajoled, under the idea, that there had been ſome œconomy practiſed in thus huſbanding out its treaſure, to enable it to bear a ſimilar loſs the ſucceeding year.

The partiſans of the Britiſh Government affected to cenſure the ſeverity of the French for the oppreſſiveneſs of the requiſitions and the prodigality with which the lives of the ſoldiers were hazarded in the field, thouſand after thouſand. There was, it is true, prodigality, oppreſſion, and a moſt barbarous want of feeling in this; but it was gentleneſs, it was mercy, it was humanity, compared with the Pittite mode—i anſwered the purpoſe for which it was deſigned—it gave the people ſomething in return for their ſacrifices: every million of money and every thouſand lives, that was expended by the French, procured for them its full value, in the ſecurity it gave them; but every million of money and every thouſand lives

expended by the Engliſh has rendered them weak and inſecure in proportion. The government of the French nation has doubled its territory; the government of the Engliſh nation has doubled its debt: the French Government conducted the war ſo as to place its country in ſecurity; the Engliſh Government conducted the war ſo as to place its country in jeopardy. The requiſition commiſſaries of France will extol the ſyſtem of Buonaparté; the tythe-collecting merchants of England will prefer the tortuous ſyſtem of Pitt; but the real friends of mankind will ſee nothing to be pleaſed with in either, more than might be obſerved in the conduct of two heirs to an eſtate, who, having divided their patrimony between them, ſhould take oppoſite methods of ſquandering it away. If one, with an unexampled degree of patience and perſeverance, ſhould ſeat himſelf upon Dover cliffs for twelve or fourteen years ſucceſſively, and, ſoberly throw his riches, guinea after guinea, into the bottomleſs gulph; whilſt his brother, with a taſte for ſenſuality and extravagance equal to that of Heliogabolus, ſhould diſcover no other uſe for his wealth than that of miniſtering new gratifications to his appetites, we ſhould, doubtleſs, admire the ſelf-denial and reſignation that led to the choice of ſuch a harmleſs life, but we ſhould be at a loſs to know how the former life could benefit mankind more than the latter: were it poſſible ſo to ſettle the diſpute, and to reconcile the French and Engliſh governments, it would certainly promote the happineſs of mankind to write VICE upon the eſcutcheon of the one, and FOLLY upon that of the other.

Notwithſtanding the evident folly of ſending the expedition to the coaſt of France, at a time when every

thing had been done to deſtroy the confidence of the great body of the people; thoſe moſt miſerable of all quacks, the newſpapers in the intereſt of the Engliſh Government, attempted to impoſe upon the people, with their uſual effrontery, by holding out hopes of ſucceſs. The deluſion was of ſhort duration: a few trifling convoys were captured by the Britiſh cruiſers upon the coaſt; but all the parade of the expedition had vaniſhed, before the Conſul returned to Paris.

Buonaparté gave orders to the Miniſter of Marine to get the navy placed upon the beſt poſſible footing; and he wrote a Letter himſelf to the Weſt, in order to attach the Vendeans ſtill more ſtrongly to his government.

The FIRST CONSUL *to the Prefect of the Department of La Vendee.*

Paris, July 26.

"An account has been given me, Citizen Prefect, of the good conduct of the inhabitants of Normontier, La Croſnier, Barbatre, and Beauvais, in the different deſcents attempted by the Engliſh: I have not been left in ignorance of thoſe who ſhewed the moſt courage and attachment to the Government.

"Chooſe me a dozen of the inhabitants who have behaved beſt in theſe affairs, and ſend them to me to Paris, accompanied by the officers of the *gendarmerie* who led them: I wiſh to ſee thoſe brave and good Frenchmen; I wiſh, too, that the good people of the Capital ſhall ſee them; and that they ſhould carry back with them, at their return, the teſtimonies of the ſatisfaction of the French People.

"If, among thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves, there are any Prieſts, ſend them to me, in preference; for I eſteem and love Prieſts who are good Frenchmen, and who know how to defend their country againſt the eternal enemies of the French name;—thoſe wicked heretics, the Engliſh!"

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

The effects of this Letter will eaſily be imagined: all the people of the diſaffected departments haſtened to diſplay their loyalty to the Firſt Conſul: and it is with ſincere ſorrow that we are obliged to record ſuch inſtances of human depravity; as, that, among the Emigrants, were found perſons, who, after having been ſheltered by the Britiſh Government and fed by its bounty when perſecuted from their homes, were eager to reconcile themſelves to the Conſular Government by the zeal with which they vilified their benefactors!

CHAPTER XX.

Preliminaries of Peace between Auſtria and France ſigned at Paris.—Conſequences.—War in Egypt.—Turks totally defeated at Heliopolis.—Cairo captured.—Treatment of the Inhabitants.—Plans.—The French Commander aſſaſſinated.—Letters from General Menou and Sir Sydney Smith.—Obſervations.

THE Life of Buonaparté neceſſarily embraces a great variety of topics; and if a Work ſimilar to this were to be undertaken by a mind as viciouſly determined to praiſe him throughout every page, as the writers of ſome Hiſtories of him (which diſgrace the Britiſh preſs) ſeem to have been determined to ſcandalize him, right or wrong; the writer who would poſſeſs that mind would, moſt likely, have preſerved, as a foil to his Hero, a liſt of the diſaſters which befel the Britiſh nation under the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt and his friends: this chapter would, then, have commenced with, perhaps, the words, "The Nine hundred and Ninety-ninth Diſaſter!" and would have informed poſterity, that the beſotted Pittites were as much ſurpriſed, when it came as if it had been the very firſt.

The warmongers of London and the peculators of Weſtminſter had taken great pains to perſuade their dupes, that the Emperor of Germany would complaiſantly carry on the war, and ſacrifice the lives of his inoffenſive boors, as long as the cravings of their

cupidity might continue to chant the delightful ſound, "War! war! war!" and the ſilly people went on believing, till news arrived, that Count St. Julien had ſigned preliminaries of peace at Paris. This intelligence conveyed the unexpected idea that England was left alone in the conteſt: an overweening confidence gave way to a ſtupid panic, both moſt perfectly Engliſh: a general dream of invaſion diſturbed the repoſe of every good cirizen in the kingdom; and thoſe who had, during the whole of the war, dilated moſt eloquently upon the reſources of the kingdom, now proved, that they had not diſcovered the ſimple means of making the enemy ſee that it was his paramount intereſt to make peace, whenever he might be aſked to do ſo.

Upon this, as upon every other occaſion, the Engliſh miniſtry loſt ſight of the clear and diſtinct intereſt of the nation, and involved its fate in the contrary and intricate concerns of the continent; this led to a long and embaraſſing altercation between the contending powers, as to the terms of the naval armiſtice, which ſhould make it as advantageous to France by ſea, as the advantages ſhe granted to Auſtria were by land; this diſcuſſion, however, derived its principal difficulty from the particular ſtate of things in Egypt, at the moment of which we are tr ating; and hence it will be neceſſary to purſue our enquiries into the progreſs of the war in the Eaſt up to that period.

General Kleber, in conſequence of the ſtipulations he had entered into by the fourth article of the Convention, had delivered up Catich, Salahich, Belbies, Damietta, and the Delta, to the Turks, when the intelligence reached him that Lord Keith had refuſed to ratify the treaty; he was, therefore, in a much

worſe condition than when he began to negociate, whilſt the Grand Vizier had increaſed his force prodigiouſly.

Forty-five days had been agreed upon as the time for the French to evacuate Cairo, and until that time expired the French general and the Turkiſh commander continued to negotiate upon the moſt friendly footing, in expectation that the Court of St. James's would ratify the treaty; but the Grand Vizier, adhering literally to the conditions, demanded the citadel of Cairo to be delivered up at the time: ſuch a demand was moſt unreaſonable, and the French general refuſed to comply with it. It was aſking him to abandon the only fortified place that he held in Upper Egypt, and, in fact, to ſhut himſelf up in Alexandria, where he would, ſhortly, have been obliged to capitulate without terms. He could not have choſen ſuch a part without diſhonour; and the Turks ſhould have conſidered, that ſome diſagreements which had happened between them and Djezzer Pacha were to be reckoned in the light of advantages to the French, who, beſide, had formed a compromiſe with Murad Bey, which gave them ſecurity on the ſide of Upper Egypt.

Kleber determined to keep the power he held, and made the Letter from Lord Keith the ground upon which he juſtified himſelf to his army for recommencing hoſtilities. The Letter of the Engliſh admiral notified, as before ſtated, his orders not to ſanction the treaty of El-Arifch; and it concluded by informing General Kleber, that "all ſhips that might be met returning to France, notwithſtanding they might have paſſports, would be retained as prizes, and all on board them would be made priſoners of war."

"Soldiers!" ſaid the French General, "we know how to reply to ſuch inſolence by victories: prepare for battle!"

From the 8th to the 20th of March the French army was occupied in preparations, and on that day, early in the morning, the troops began to cannonade the advanced poſts of the Turks, which were at Maturia, about two leagues from Cairo, the camp being at Heliopolis.

At eight o'clock in the morning the grand Vizier advanced with his army, the French being drawn up in two lines. A corps of janizaries charged the French with conſiderable bravery; but being ill ſupported by their artillery, and not ſufficiently ſupplied with ammunition, were ſoon obliged to retreat. The French troops were fifteen thouſand ſtrong, well proportioned with cavalry and dromedaries; the Turks were capable of muſtering eighty thouſand troops in a few hours. Few battles have beeu fought with more fury during the time that it laſted; but here, as upon all former occaſions, the ſuperior ſkill of the ſmaller number ſet the power of the larger at defiance, inſomuch, that, by noon, the French were ready to advance upon their adverſaries: a dreadful fire of artillery and muſquetry, from the whole line, threw the Turkiſh hordes into irrecoverable diſorder and confuſion, whilſt the enemy ruſhed upon them and mowed them down like graſs: forty thouſand men took to flight in all directions, and the Grand Vizier found it impoſſible to rally them.

In vain did the Turkiſh commander endeavour to ſecure himſelf in his camp; he was obliged to abandon it the ſame day, the French having advanced in a manner the beſt calculated to cut off his retreat,

The route ſoon became general, and the French took nineteen pieces of artillery, with great part of the camp equipage.

During this conflict the ſlaughter among the Turks is ſuppoſed to have amounted to eight thouſand killed, beſide wounded and priſoners! The French fought deſperately, and their fury was not allayed when they learned that Cairo had been attacked by ſome thouſands of the enemy, who had penetrated by the way of Boulac, with a view to cut off their only reſource, and butcher them in the Deſart.

The inhabitants of Cairo had favoured the Turks, and the few French that had been left in the city were put to death; an offence that would, moſt likely, have provoked Kleber to have demoliſhed it, had he not found it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to him in his condition: he reduced it to a blockade, and, without much difficulty, retook it, when it was laid under a very heavy contribution; and the army was reinſtated in its good-humour, by the general's being enabled to bring up the arrears of pay and clothing, from the joint plunder of the camp and the city.

The bad faith, as it was called, of the Engliſh, in the rupture of the treaty of El-Ariſh, had excited the indignation of the army: to them the Turks were not formidable enemies. After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire (9th of November, 1799) of which they had now received intelligence, their confidence in the government heightened their deſire to preſerve a conqueſt, the vaſt importance of which they felt, and which they contemplated with pleaſure, ſince they began to endure fewer privations and to reap ſome enjoyments.

The inhabitants, aſtoniſhed to ſee the Vizier of the

Porte, the greateſt perſonage to whom their knowledge extended, defeated by the French, were now convinced that the efforts of the Turks to regain the country would thenceforth be ineffectual; and, conſidering Egypt as the property of their new maſters, began to place great confidence in them. They had experienceed, on various occaſions, with what facility revolts had been ſuppreſſed by a ſmall number of troops. The expenſes of the war, levied on the rebels, would deter them for ever from ſimilar attempts; and the peace with Murad Bey tended to retain the inhabitants in theſe peaceable diſpoſitions.

The extraordinary contributions impoſed on Cairo, as a puniſhment for its revolt, afforded means to pay the whole arrears of the army, amounting to eleven millions of livres, including the ſoldiers' pay, and tranquilly to wait the ſeaſon for collecting the ordinary impoſts, to ſupply the current expenſes. The ameliorations, which a ſtate of war, and the difficulties inſeparable from a new eſtabliſhment, had prevented Buonaparté from effecting, in a country where the language, manners, and cuſtoms, oppoſed innumerable obſtacles, General Kleber was in a ſituation to accompliſh, after the victory of Heliopolis. The regulations he ordained in every department of the adminiſtration, introduced great economy into the expenditure, diminiſhed the charges of collection, and put a ſtop to various exactions and dilapidations.

Kleber, deſirous of profiting of the moment of general good-will in the inhabitants of Cairo, and to perſuade them (particularly the Copts) that, if they had been armed during the ſiege, their quarters would not have been pillaged by the Turks, and that it was their intereſt to concur with the French in the com-

mon defence, prevailed on them to raiſe a battalion of 500 men, whom he trained to arms, and clothed in the French uniform. He propoſed to augment theſe auxiliary troops as circumſtances might permit.

This formation of a body of Copts was uſeful as introducing a military taſte; but it was a ſtill more important object to induce the inhabitants of Egypt (Chriſtians and Muſſulmen) to enrol themſelves in the demi-brigades, where they would more readily imbibe the principles, and learn the diſcipline of the French ſoldiery. Kleber gave the greateſt encouragement to theſe enrolments; in Upper Egypt they became frequent. The 21ſt demi-brigade in a ſhort time recruited 300 men, who quickly learnt their exerciſe. The inhabitants of Lower Egypt ſeemed leſs diſpoſed to enter the ſervice; but their repugnance, it was hoped, would be removed.

The Greeks, of a more warlike character, offered themſelves with a great deal more zeal. Two companies of Greeks had been raiſed by Buonaparté; one of theſe was at the ſiege of Cairo, and fought with great bravery. General Kléber raiſed a Greek legion, in which were enliſted numbers of Greeks who had newly arrived in the ports of Egypt. It ſoon amounted to nearly 1500 men.

The army had found great difficulty to procure means of carriage in moments of great urgency; becauſe at ſuch times the Arabs, who let out their camels to hire, diſappeared. To ſecure this important ſervice Kleber eſtabliſhed a park of 500 camels, for the uſe of the army; which were employed, when the troops were not in the field, in various uſeful ſervices. He gave orders for the purchaſe of horſes and camels, to remount the cavalry and for the artillery.

He eſtabliſhed flying-bridges over the branches of the Nile, to facilitate the march of troops from the coaſt to the frontier of Syria; and eſtabliſhed poſts of communication between the different ſtations of the army.

He laid down a plan of great ſimplicity for works to be conſtructed at Cairo; embracing two great objects—to overawe the inhabitants of that extenſive city, and ſo far to command the avenues that an enemy could not eaſily introduce himſelf to raiſe the inhabitants. He gave orders alſo for works neceſſary to the defence of the coaſts.

He eſtabliſhed a committee of works, conſiſting of five members, heads of the principal departments of the civil adminiſtration, with whom he adviſed on the ameliorations that the circumſtances of the country would permit.

He put a ſtop to a multitude of dilapidations, and to peculations, at the expenſe of the ſoldiery, whoſe condition he greatly improved, by ordering a regular delivery of the rations of proviſions and forage, and aſſigning clothing to the ſeveral corps.

The Turkiſh fleet, commanded by the Capitan Pacha, appeared off Alexandria about the latter end of May. Kléber, having no information whether or not troops were on board, and an attempt on the coaſt was meditated, inſtantly marched with part of the troops at Cairo, and ordered the troops in the Delta to aſſemble at Rahmanieh. He quitted Cairo on the 14th Prairal (beginning of June); learnt at Rahmanieh that the Capitan Pacha appeared off Alexandria merely to open a negotiation if poſſible; prohibited the landing of any agent of the Turks; and returned to Cairo, leaving in the Delta, oppoſite

to Rahmanieh, a flying-camp of two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry, to march to any part of the coaſt that might be menaced, or to the frontier of Syria.

It does not appear that the battle of Heliopolis was followed up by any active meaſures againſt the Turks, ſtill powerful on the ſide of the Deſart; and it ſhould ſeem, from the Memoir publiſhed by General Regnier, that General Menou, who had been the boſom friend and principal confidant of Buonaparté, might have contributed to thwart the deſigns of the commander in chief, and have been the cauſe of his not proceeding to more active hoſtilities.

General Menou had arrived at Cairo (about the middle of May. In the courſe of the ſix preceding months he had received various orders to repair thither, at firſt to be employed in the negotiations with the Turks, afterwards for the approaching campaign, and after the reduction of Cairo to aſſume the command of that place. But, although uniformly anſwering that he was about to depart, and that he deſired nothing ſo eagerly as to meet the enemy, he remained very quietly at Roſetta, till the Turks being driven out of Cairo, and chaſed to the Deſart, nothing more remained but to enjoy the tranquillity purchaſed by the victories of the army.

When General Menou was arrived at Cairo, he raiſed objections to his taking the command of that place. That of Upper Egypt, where he expreſſed an inclination to travel, was offered him; but to this alſo he raiſed objections. At length Kleber, in one of his moments of cauſtic humour, ſaid to General Menou, in a letter, that, having offered him the moſt

desirable commands, he had only that of commander in-chief to add. General Menou chose the command of Upper Egypt; but did not leave Cairo.

About this time various reports, injurious to Kleber, and calculated to deprive him of the confidence of the army, were spread through Cairo. The author was not then suspected; but "since then," says Regnier, "there has been little doubt on that subject."

Before General Kleber departed from Cairo for Rahmanieh, he wrote to general Reynier, who was on duty in Kelioubeh, to proceed to Cairo, to take the command of the place, and watch Upper Egypt and the frontiers of Syria, while he was on the coast. The express with these orders lost his way; and General Reynier did not reach Cairo till after Kleber's departure. In the interim General Menou asked for the command of Cairo, which Kleber gave him, recommending him to advise with General Reynier on the necessary dispositions, if there should be any movement on the side of Syria. General Reynier, on his arrival at Cairo gave Menou every necessary information relative to the fortifications, the troops, and the inhabitants and police of the city, with each of which General Menou was little acquainted.

Kleber returned from Rahmanieh on the 21st. On the 23d he shewed to general Reynier a note he had ordered to be written, in answer to a letter that Mr. Morris, secretary to Lord Elgin, had sent him from Jaffa. He conversed with General Reynier on the conduct he proposed to maintain with the Turks, upon which subject he had before held several conversations with him. It was Kleber's object to avail himself of the rupture of the treaty of El-Arish, and

of the arrangements made by the Engliſh at that time to occupy Alexandria, Damietta, and Suez, to excite the jealouſy and anger of the Turks. It was his intention to decline all communication both with the Turkiſh and Engliſh commander in chief while he endeavoured to open a direct correſpondence with Conſtantinople. By this policy he expected to be able to correſpond with the French Government, receive its inſtructions, and prevail on the Turks to conſent to a neutrality till the concluſion of a general peace. A treaty to this effect would have ſecured the French army from any attack, except by a maritime expedition, which the Engliſh would ſcarcely have attempted without the aid of the Turks; and would have augmented the reſources of the French by reviving commerce in Egypt.

On the 14th of June, General Kleber, after reviewing the Greek legion in the Iſle of Raoudah, came to Cairo, to inſpect repairs that were making at his houſe. He was walking on the terrace of his garden with citizen Protain, his architect, when he received ſeveral ſtabs with a poignard. The aſſaſſin, who had arrived at Cairo towards the end of Floreal (the middle of May) had followed Kleber from Gizeh; and, having introduced himſelf into the houſe along with the workmen, ſeized for his purpoſe, the moment when Kleber's attention was deeply engaged in converſation.

As ſoon as the generals heard the news of the aſſaſſination, they aſſembled at the houſe of General Damas, to which the body of Kleber had been carried. Search was made for the aſſaſſin; and he was ſoon after arreſted and interrogated.

The ſheiks and agas of the city had been ſent for,

with an intention to examine if this deed was connected with any more extenſive conſpiracy. An aide-de-camp entered the room in which the generals were aſſembled, to know if they were to be brought in. General Reynier, to whom the officer ſpoke, deſired him to addreſs himſelf to General Menou, who referred him back to General Reynier, and a diſcuſſion aroſe between the two generals concerning a ſucceſſor to Kleber.

General Menou maintained that he was unqualified for the command; that, having been in little active ſervice, he was leſs known to the troops than general Reynier; and *that he had already refuſed the command in chief on other occaſions.* He laviſhed his *word of honour*, that he would ſooner give in his reſignation as a general officer, than accept the command; and that, even if it were impoſed upon him, he would avail himſelf of its authority to order General Reynier to aſſume it.

General Reynier obſerved to him, that, in ſuch circumſtances, the laws ordered the oldeſt general officer to take the proviſional command till the pleaſure of the government ſhould be known; and that, if he deſired time to come to a reſolution, as to the command in chief, he could not decline to iſſue his orders as commandant of Cairo; and that, for his part, he deemed the command of too important a nature to aſſume it without mature reflection. Perceiving that General Menou came to no reſolution, he took him aſide; and, repeating his arguments, added that ſuch a diſcuſſion ought to be poſtponed to a time of leſs difficulty.

General Menou again inſiſted that he could not take the command; that he had not ſeen ſervice, and

was unknown to the troops, who were, perhaps, prejudiced againſt him by his change of religion, from the Catholic to the Mohameddan. General Reynier obſerved, that he ought not to conſider his change of religion as any obſtacle; that it would even render his authority more eaſy to the people of the country; and that all the generals, and General Reynier in particular, would aſſiſt him with their whole powers and beſt counſels. He invited him at all events to take the lead at preſent, as commandant of Cairo. He then led General Menou back to the aid-de-camp, and the diſcuſſion ended for that time.

The examinations concerning the aſſaſſination continued. The next day General Menou aſſumed the title of commander in chief, *ad interim*, and appointed General Reynier preſident of the commiſſion charged to try the aſſaſſin.

After the interment of Kleber, and the execution of the aſſaſſin, General Menou aſſumed the title of General in Chief. The army with great reluctance ſaw him ſucceed its former general: murmurs were heard in ſeveral corps; but they were appeaſed by the generals, who hoped that General Menou's knowledge of buſineſs would well qualify him to direct the civil adminiſtration, and that, in actual ſervice and times of danger, he would avail himſelf of their military experience.

The Conſular Government had received accounts, by way of Conſtantinople, of the recommencement of hoſtilities early in July, which revived the hope of being able ſtill to retain Egypt as a colony; as it was evident that all hope of recovering it by a Turkiſh army was at an end. Egypt would now, it was con-

ſidered, require a large Britiſh force to ſubdue it, or would become an important object of negotiation with that country.

The French Government concluded, that the only chance by which the colony could be evacuated by negotiation, would ariſe out of the enmity * that was known to exiſt between Kleber and Buonaparté, and which, it was thought, might induce the former to ſurrender an acquiſition by which the credit of the latter would be increaſed: even this apprehenſion ceaſed upon the arrival of the intelligence of Kleber's death, and the arrival of the intelligence was as myſterious as the aſſaſſination of the general: it was announced in the Paris papers by the publication of two letters, ſaid to have been received by the French Government, over land, from Conſtantinople, without comment or explanation; and the authority of the letters was only ſuch as their internal evidence carried with them. No ſatisfactory account has ever been obtained of the motives that led to the murder of the French commander, nor of their authors; but, by the peruſal of the letters alluded to, it appears that Ge-

* The enmity that exiſted between them aroſe during their campaign in Syria. Kleber's principles of humanity emboldened him to cenſure Buonaparte's cruelties, and, in ſome inſtances, to oppoſe the maſſacre of the priſoners. During the ſiege of Acre Buonaparté ordered Kleber to ſend a detachment of his diviſion to ſtorm at night: Kleber, doubtful whether the breach was practicable, ſent one of his ableſt officers to reconnoitre it; and, being informed that ſucceſs was impoſſible, he refuſed to give the order, and told Buonaparté, "That he might ſend himſelf, if he choſe." Buonapartê did ſend; and the whole detachment (including Kleber's confidential officer) periſhed in the attempt!

neral Menou evinced no delicacy in accuſing the Turks of the crime.

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

Head-quarters at Cairo, 1st Meſſidor, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

MENOU, *Commander in Chief, to* Sir SYDNEY SMITH. *commanding his Britannic Majeſty's Ship the Tiger.*

"I have received, Sir, the letter which you have done me the honour to write from on board the Tiger, off Rhodes, on the 9th June. As the execrable murder committed upon the Commander in Chief, Kleber, has deprived the French army of their leader, I have undertaken to command them. As your allies, the Turks, could not conquer the French at El Ariſch, they made uſe of daggers—which daſtards alone employ to be revenged. A Janiſſary, ſent from Gaza forty-two days ago, has been choſen to perpetrate this horrid act. The French wiſh to believe that the Muſſulmen alone are guilty. The murder ſhall be made known to all nations, who all have the ſame intereſt to revenge it. The conduct which you, Sir, have yourſelf, obſerved reſpecting the Convention concluded at El Ariſch, plainly ſhews me how I muſt act. You demanded the ratification of your Court; and I too muſt likewiſe demand that of the Conſuls, who now govern the French Republic, for the treaties that may be concluded between the army under my command, the Engliſh, and their allies. It is now the only legal and authentic method to be adopted in negociations. I, too, deteſt the horrors of war, like you, Sir, and wiſh to ſee an end to the miſery it occaſions. But I will in no reſpect act anywiſe contrary to the honour of the French Republic and her armies. I

* Sir Sydney Smith had written to Menou, as Commandant of Alexandria, requeſting him to inform Kleber that the Engliſh Government had ratified the treaty, and urging the re-opening of negotiations.

am perfectly convinced that you entertain the same sentiments of good faith, honour, and morality, which ought to characterize treaties concluded between nations.

"The French Republic are strangers to those stratagems of war, of which Mr. Morris's * papers make mention. They know no other rule of conduct, but courage in battle, generosity after victory, and the strict observance of treaties.

"One hundred and fifty Englishmen are prisoners of war here. Had I only listened to the Republican generosity, I would have sent them back, without considering them as prisoners; for they have been taken on the coast of Egypt, and without arms, and I am convinced the Consuls would have approved of my conduct. But your allies, the Turks, detain the Citizen and Chief of Brigade Baudet, Adjutant of General Kleber, though his person ought to have been sacred, even to barbarians, for he went on a parley.

"I have thus been forced, against my will and inclination, to use reprisals against your countrymen; but they shall be released the moment Citizen Baudet reaches Damietta. He shall there be exchanged for Mustapha Pacha and other Turkish Commissaries. If, as I make no doubt, you possess influence with your allies, this affair will soon be settled. Your honour is interested in it, and it concerns 150 of your countrymen.

"I have the honour to repeat to you, Sir, that with an enthusiastic joy I shall see terminate a war which has so long disturbed the whole world. It behoves the French and English nations to esteem and not to destroy each other; but if they treat together, it must be on conditions equally honourably to both, and equally conducive to their respective welfare.

* Mr. Morris was private secretary to Lord Elgin, the English ambassador at Constantinople, and, having been appointed to follow the Grand Vizier, had corresponded with General Kleber.

Sir Wm. Sidney Smith, KM.T K.C.

Pub. by Jones & Burnford, 1806.

" Pleaſe to accept, Sir, of the moſt ſincere aſſurances of my eſteem and reſpect.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) " ABDALLAH BEY, J. MENOU."

Copy of a Tranſlation from the Turkiſh, of a Letter from Sir SIDNEY SMITH *to* GENERAL MENOU, *Commander in Chief of the French Army in Egypt, originally written in French.*

" GENERAL," Jaffa, June 22, 1800,

" I received, this evening, the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me on the 20th inſt. At the inſtant when I expected to ſee General Kleber under the moſt favourable and ſatisfactory auſpices, I learned with the livelieſt concern, and the moſt heartfelt ſorrow, his tragical fate. I immediately communicated the intelligence to the Grand Vizier and the Ottoman miniſters, in the terms in which you announced to me that ſad event; and nothing leſs than the certainty and details with which you communicated it could have induced their Excellencies to accredit the information. The Grand Vizier has declared to me, formally and officially, that he had not the ſlighteſt knowledge of thoſe who have been guilty of the aſſaſſination; and I am perſuaded that his declaration is true and ſincere. Without entering into the particulars of this unfortunate event, I ſhall content myſelf with anſwering the articles of your letter that relate to our affairs.

" If the Grand Vizier has detained in his camp the aide-de-camp Baudet, diſpatched to him at Jebil-il-Illam, it was becauſe his Excellency did not think proper to ſuffer any perſon to quit his camp at the moment when he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by his enemies. Baudet was detained at Jebil-il-Illam in the ſame manner as the Turkiſh officers deſtined to ſerve reciprocally with him as hoſtages, were detained at Cairo.

This Aide-de-camp was ſent to the Ottoman ſquadron to be exchanged, according to your deſire, and during that

interval his Excellency the Captain Pacha having arrived here, the exchange was poſtponed in conſequence of his abſence from the ſquadron. When his Excellency ſhall have joined the ſquadron, the exchange may be carried into effect, ſhould you think proper, as the Aide-de-camp is off Alexandria; but I cannot perceive why you make the releaſe of 150 Engliſh, who were ſhipwrecked at the Cape Brulos, depend upon a tranſaction relating only to yourſelf and the Porte. I expect, from your good faith and your juſtice, according to the regulations ſettled between both nations relative to the reciprocal exchange of our priſoners, which we are authoriſed to enforce, that you will allow Captain Butal, his officers and crew, to return.

"Your promiſes expreſſive of the hope of reciprocity on my part cannot apply to this circumſtance, and I think it ſuperfluous to offer you, in return, the aſſurance of my good offices in favour of any perſon who may be reduced to the painful ſituation which I have myſelf experienced. I am convinced that the Grand Vizier will ſanction with his generous and dignified approbation all the humane proceedings which we may adopt with reſpect to one another. The tricks of warfare are unknown to us both; and while I ſhall continue to behave to you with the ſame candour and the ſame good faith which I have manifeſted to the preſent moment, I ſhall earneſtly employ all my means to prevent any perſon on whom I may poſſeſs influence from purſuing a contrary line of conduct. Be aſſured that the hoſtile diſpoſitions which have been recently announced, and which have acquired extent and publicity, may be appeaſed, by the opportunities furniſhed to both parties by the preſent circumſtances of mutual correſpondence and communication, and that we ſhall, at length, be united by the ties of ſincere friendſhip. In the mean time we ſhall proſecute hoſtilities againſt you with the means which we have hitherto proceeded againſt you, and we ſhall endeavour to render ourſelves worthy of the eſteem of your rave troops.

" The hoſtilities which you have committed, without waiting for Admiral Keith's anſwer, who was unacquainted with the Convention concluded for the evacuation of Egypt, have furniſhed us with a rule for our conduct. I had not demanded of my Court the ratification of the Convention; I merely was deſirous to remove ſome obſtacles that might have oppoſed the return of the French to their country.

" As General Kleber did not, in the late Preliminaries which were agreed to, give us to underſtand that it was neceſſary the treaty which was to have followed them ſhould be ratified by the Conſuls: this condition now introduced by you in your Preliminaries has the appearance of a refuſal to evacuate Egypt; and the Grand Vizier has commiſſioned me to require of you on that head a clear and preciſe anſwer. You wiſh, as I do, for a termination to a war which deſolates the whole world.

" It is in your power to remove one of the obſtacles in the way of peace by evacuating Egypt according to the terms agreed upon with General Kleber, and, if you refuſe we ſhall exert all our means, and thoſe of our Allies, in order to compel you to accept conditions which may not be ſo advantageous. I cannot ſuppreſs my regret at being forced to fulfil that duty, but the evacuation of Egypt being an object of ſo much intereſt to the cauſe of humanity, the mode of accompliſhing it by correſpondence and conference is ſtill open.

" As the Admiral, under whoſe orders I am, is at a conſiderable diſtance, I am authoriſed to agree to ſuch arrangements as the neceſſity of circumſtances may dictate; and, although, from the nature of events, I am not warranted in offering any new propoſition, I am, however, ready and diſpoſed to receive all thoſe which you may think fit to make. I can declare to you officially, that I ſhall exert all my efforts to prevent any raſh proceedings, and to oppoſe all vexatious meaſures, from whatever quarter they may ariſe.

"I ſhall literally adhere to all the inſtructions of my Court. I know its principle to be founded upon the moſt punctilious equity and the moſt perfect good faith. My conduct ſhall be conformable to its principles, and all my exertions ſhall be directed to the performance of my duty, by promoting its intereſts.

"As it is not yet decided in what direction I am about to act, I beg you will tranſmit me your anſwer in two diſpatches, the one addreſſed to Alexandria and the other to Jaffa, at the Camp of the Grand Vizier."

(Signed) "SIDNEY SMITH."

To whomſoever the aſſaſſination of General Kleber is to be attributed, Menou can hardly be ſuſpected, after the fervour of his indignation, as it appears in the preceding letter, is conſidered; and, as to his friend, the Firſt Conſul, he got his colleagues to decree, that an Egyptian monument ſhould be raiſed, to preſerve buſts of the generals Kleber and Deſaix, who had periſhed on the ſame day; the one after having procured peace for his country by the victory of Marengo, and the other after having confirmed his country in poſſeſſion of its moſt valuable colony by the victory of Heliopolis. This compliment to a dead general was the cheapeſt way that the Conſul ſaw of ſhewing the value he attached to an inſecure poſſeſſion; a poſſeſſion, however, it was; and the French Government refuſed to treat with England, in conjunction with her allies, unleſs the armiſtice to be agreed to, in the interim, allowed reinforcements to be ſent by ſea to the army in Egypt as freely as the Auſtrians ſent them by land to the armies of Germany and Italy by virtue of the exiſting armiſtice.

CHAPTER XXI.

Engliſh Influence. — Schemes Fruſtrated. — American Negotiation. — Claims upon Portugal. — Reappearance of Hoſtilities. — Official Declarations. — Remarks.

IF there was ever a moment in which France was really thwarted, by what ſhe calls the gold and intrigues of England, it was during the negotiations for the naval armiſtice: the alliance between the courts of Vienna and St. James's was moſt perfectly ſecure, and the underſtanding between the miniſters of the reſpective courts as complete as poſſible. Francis now ſaw that what he held, he held ſo intirely by the forbearance, of his enemy, that, like a froward child, he was determined to try the utmoſt limit of that forbearance, rather than acknowledge himſelf debtor for what he had experienced: he ſeemed to be ſo near to the brink of ruin that he doubted whether it was worth while to be ſaved or not; and he was prevailed upon by the Britiſh cabinet to diſavow the preliminaries of Count St. Julien and to refuſe his ratification, in the hope that the French might be induced to enter into a joint treaty with England, in order that the conqueſts the latter had obtained from France might be ſet off in the negotiation againſt thoſe which France had made from him. In the interim a conſtant communication was kept up between the governments of France and England, which, as far as time was neceſſary, gave Auſtria an opportunity of collecting and increaſing her reſources: for until France ſhould have exhauſted every reply the intricate diſcuſſion between her and England muſt inevitably call for, ſhe could not well

break the armiſtice with the Emperor; but Auſtria ſeemed to be ſo far fallen, and to be deſtitute of ſo many other pre-requiſites, that *time* was to her of no value.

Buonaparté conſidered it of the firſt conſequence that he ſhould be enabled to ſend ſupplies to Egypt; and he winked at the obſtinacy of the Emperor, in hopes that his indulgence might operate upon the Engliſh miniſters, in their *full-moon* moments, to yield to his importunities: the folly of the Britiſh miniſtry and the Conſul's patience, had, however, both their limits.

To have admitted another French force into the Mediterranean would have been to have empowered France to have ſettled Egypt as a poſſeſſion of her own for ever; and a powerful fleet and army, which, ever ſince the ſiege of Genoa, had been up that ſea, under the command of Lord Keith and General Abercrombie, had already been deſtined to take poſſeſſion of the colony. On the contrary, the Conſul was pledged to the Engliſh to announce peace by the firſt day of the new year, or to lead the armies on to new victories: his time was nearly exhauſted, and he began to aſſume the character, that he ſo frequently alludes to in his proclamations and addreſſes—that of the *waking lion*.

Strong and ſevere remonſtrances were tranſmitted to the Emperor, threatening him with the rupture of the armiſtice at the end of ten days, if he did not ſend an ambaſſador to Luneville, the place that had been marked by the former negotiation, as the rendezvous for concluding a definitive treaty; and the Conſul, as if determined to diſplay himſelf in conſiſtency with his

own figure, began whetting his teeth by a ſpecies of underplot warfare with Portugal and America.

The United States had appointed commiſſioners to adjuſt their differences with France ſhortly after the Conſular Government had commenced; but as the Conſul had begun to taſte the ſweets of ſovereignty, he could not refrain from aſſuming its airs; and he choſe to ſhew theſe commercial plenipotentiaries, that it was their buſineſs to wait; and let crowns and coronets be ſerved before them. The whole treatment of the American miniſters at the Conſular court was deſigned to ſay to them, "When you are ſufficiently ſenſible of your original inſignificance we will condeſcend to hear you:" yet did thoſe doubly bruſified brutes, the democrats of England and America, cling to this ſame Conſul, as the champion of their cauſe!

The obſtacles thrown in his way by the tardineſs of the Emperor and the diſputations of the Engliſh, left Buonaparté few other amuſements for ſome time than thoſe which aroſe out of the preparations making to delight the Pariſians at the new year ſports, and to conſole them for having loſt the fête of the 10th of Auguſt, which, very much to his credit, the Conſul had not ſuffered to be kept that year: he, therefore, admitted the plebian miniſters to talk of their affairs at the ſeaſon of leiſure, and cauſed them to be informed, that the firſt thing they would be expected to do to gain his favour, would be to break their treaty with England. The good ſenſe of the miniſters overcame the ſubſerviency of a great part of their countrymen to French politics, and this point was not conceded; but their arrangements went on ſo ſlowly, that the whole farce of the American negotiation ſerved at once to ſhew the contempt in which that country was

held by the French Government, and the blind ſervility of a people whoſe prejudices prevented them from ſeeing what was obſerved by all the world beſide.

Whilſt playing with America the Conſul determined to exerciſe his ſeverity with greater rigor upon another ally of Great Britain—Portugal; that country being within his graſp, and not to be let off with mere menace, like the United States. Of Portugal he demanded certain privileges and commercial advantages, which it was impoſſible to concede without violating treaties exiſting between that country and Great Britain, whom it was impoſſible to offend without incurring the moſt ſerious diſaſters. This was no matter; all he wanted was a cauſe of quarrel; and, though he could give no better reaſon for it than that of the Wolf to the Lamb, in the fable, that anſwered his purpoſe as well as any other. Spain undertook to mediate in behalf of the feeble ſtate, and the Britiſh fitted out an expedition to defend the territory in caſe it ſhould be attacked. General Berthier, whom Buonaparté regards as his right-hand man in all caſes that require intrepidity and intrigue, was ſuperſeded in the command of the army of reſerve by General Macdonald, in order that he might go ambaſſador to Madrid: but a moſt dreadful peſtilence broke out in Spain, which raged in ſeveral of the principal cities at the ſame time, and ſo completely paralyſed all kinds of buſineſs in that country, as to oblige the Conſul to abandon his prey for that ſeaſon.

When the French reſolution of breaking the armiſtice was announced at Vienna, the Emperor and his court was thrown into the greateſt conſternation: orders were ſent, in all directions, to the armies, to

prepare for immediate attack: and the Emperor reſolved to repair himſelf to the army, accompanied by his brother, the Archduke John.

The conditions of the peace agreed to by Count St. Julien were not much known, for it had been ſtipulated that they ſhould be kept ſecret till after they were ratified; and hence the Allies had an opportunity of declaiming violently againſt the unreaſonable terms of the French. Peace was moſt anxiouſly deſired throughout the German ſtates; and the Emperor thought it neceſſary to iſſue a Proclamation, attaching all the blame of the new hoſtilities to the French Government, before he quitted Vienna.

PROCLAMATION OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY.

"His Imperial Apoſtolic Majeſty, equally convinced of and moved by the calamities of war, has omitted no means in his power to procure a ſolid and durable peace for his kingdoms and provinces, and all his faithful vaſſals and ſubjects, and, by the recent meaſures he has taken, has ſufficiently proved his wiſh for peace; yet has the French Government, unexpectedly, and without any ſufficient cauſe, declared the armiſtice at an end, which had been concluded with that view.

"Though, from the repeated pacific aſſurances of the French Government, it is ſtill to be hoped that the renewal of hoſtilities may be avoided, his Majeſty has, nevertheleſs, reſolved to give an incontrovertible proof, both to his own ſubjects and to all Europe, how much he has their welfare and protection at heart, by repairing in perſon, with his Royal Brother, the Archduke John, to his army in Germany. His Majeſty, at the ſame time, remains unalterably diſpoſed to accept, with pleaſure, any reaſonable propoſitions and conditions of peace, and earneſtly wiſhes that he may ſoon have it in his power to announce to his faithful people a termination of the calamities of war.

The French generals were ready to commence the war: each one was at his poſt; and General Brune, who had received the command of the army of Italy in the room of General Maſſena, declared the pacific views of his government in a Proclamation to the army of Italy:

PROCLAMATION.

BRUNE, *Counſellor of Sate, Commander in Chief, to the Army.*

"FELLOW SOLDIERS!

"Our enemies ſtill wiſh for war. National generosity had ſuſpended the courſe of your triumphs.—You repoſed under arms in expectation of peace.—This attempt is fruſtrated.—Your indignant native country calls you to new battles. I appeal to your glory, to your courage, to excite ſpeedy repentance in the boſom of our enemies for having rejected the moderate propoſals of our Government. In vain did we offer them peace. They wiſhed to deſtroy the Republic in her army. The foreſight of Buonaparté has proved juſt and rapid; he penetrated the object of the delays of the enemy; and peace muſt be conquered by new victories

"At theſe ideas of freſh triumphs I ſee your ſouls elated, and your arms brandiſhed in your generous hands. I hear the cry of battle reſound through all your ranks. In a ſhort time the enemy will learn that humanity alone could have ſuſpended your efforts; but this humanity impoſes new ſacrifices upon us, and glory muſt cover them with immortal palms.

"Brave warriors! I need not exhort you to regard the rights of the people among whom you are about to penetrate. You will never forget that liberty is their hope, and that a diſplay of humanity and diſcipline can alone induce them to favour our arms.

(Signed) "BRUNE."

With the utmoſt diſpatch the Emperor ſet out for the army, and on his arrival at Altenkerchen immediately diſpatched a courier to General Moreau, to propoſe a prolongation of the armiſtice only for a few days, to allow a courier to return from Paris with the anſwer of the Firſt Conſul to the Imperial ultimatum. General Moreau conſented that the ſword ſhould remain ſheathed for a few days, juſt leaving time to let the Government know the reſult, by telegraph, before the new year (the 23d of September) would commence.

The 17th of September was the day on which the armiſtice was to expire; on the 18th Moreau wrote the following Letter to the Archduke John, from his head-quarters:

The GENERAL IN CHIEF *to his Royal Highneſs the* ARCHDUKE JOHN.

Head-quarters at Nymphenbourg, 1st complimentary Day (Sept 18) 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

"GENERAL IN CHIEF,

"I this moment receive, by the telegraph, the anſwer of the Government to the diſpatches brought by its courier from Vienna. I cannot better impart to you the orders with which I am charged than by literally tranſcribing the words in which they are conveyed.

"'Announce to the Commander in Chief of the Auſtrian Army, that the Emperor does not wiſh to ratify the preliminaries of peace, and that you are obliged to renew hoſtilities. You may however agree to an armiſtice for a month, if they immediately put into your hands places of ſecurity. M. de Lehrbach will immediately receive paſſports."

"You ſee, General, that the intentions of the Firſt Conſul are very decided for peace, ſince the renewal of hoſtilities depends only upon the ratification of the treaty

of preliminaries concluded with M. St. Julien, and which he does not believe it his duty to expose to interminable diplomatic discussions, without some guarantee for the sincerity of the intentions of our enemies.

"I give orders to Lahorie, general of Brigade, to repair to the advanced posts of the army which I command, to demand from you places of security, which a new conjuncture gives us a right to demand. If the propositions which he is charged to make you are not accepted, hostilities will commence the day after to-morrow, at sun-rise (3d complementary day, 20th of September). I entreat your Royal Highness to accept the assurance of the high consideration with which I am, &c.

(Signed) "MOREAU."

(A true copy) "DESOLLES."

At Paris the hopes of peace had greatly abated when it was known that the Emperor had himself joined the army, for the command was given to the Archduke. His Majesty had taken the sacrament and a formal leave of his family previous to quitting his capital; on the 20th of this month, therefore, the treaty of Count St. Julian was published by the French Government, as a justification of itself to the nation, and as having been kept secret as long as secresy was useful.

PRELIMINARIES

Of Peace between FRANCE *and* AUSTRIA.

"His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, &c. and the First Consul of the Republic, in the name of the French People, equally animated with the desire of putting a term to the evils of war, by a prompt, just, and solid peace, have agreed upon the following preliminary Articles:

ART. I. "There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between his Majesty the Emperor and King and the French Republic.

ART. II. "Until the concluſion of a definitive treaty, the armies, both in Italy and Germany, ſhall reſpectively remain in the poſition they are in, without extending their poſitions more to the South of Italy. On his ſide, his Imperial Majeſty engages to concentrate all the forces he may have in the States of the Pope, in the fortreſs of Ancona; to put an end to the extraordinary levy which is making in Tuſcany; and to prevent all debarkation of the enemies of the French Republic at Leghorn or any other point of the coaſts.

III. "The treaty of Campo Formio ſhall be taken as the baſis of the definitive pacification, excepting, however, the changes now become neceſſary.

IV. "His Imperial Majeſty does not oppoſe the French Republic keeping the limits of the Rhine, ſuch as they were agreed upon at Raſtadt; that is, the left bank of the Rhine from the ſpot where the Rhine leaves the territory of Switzerland to the point where it enters the territory of the Batavian Republic; and engages, moreover, to concede to the French Republic the ſovereignty and property of Frickthal, and all that belongs to the houſe of Auſtria between Zurich and Baſle.

V. "The French Republic is not underſtood to keep Caſſel, Kehl, Ehrenbreitſtein, and Duſſeldorff: theſe places will be raſed, on condition that there ſhall not be raiſed on the right bank of the Rhine, and for the diſtance of three miles, any fortifications, either in ſtonework or in earth.

VI. "The indemnities which his Imperial Majeſty the Emperor and King is to have in Germany, in virtue of the ſecret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, ſhall be taken in Italy; and, therefore, it ſhall be reſerved until the definitive treaty, to agree on the poſition and the quota of the ſaid indemnities: nevertheleſs, it ſhall be eſtabliſhed as the baſis, that his Imperial Majeſty the Emperor and King ſhall poſſeſs, beſides the country which has been granted to him in Italy by the treaty of Campo Formio, an equivalent to the poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhopric of Salſbourg, the river of the Inn and the Sabra, and the Tyrol, comprising the

town of Wafferbourg, on the left bank of the Inn, within a circuit of three thouſand toiſes, and the Frickthal, which he cedes to the French Republic.

VII. "The ratifications of the preſent Preliminary Articles ſhall be exchanged at Vienna before the 27th Thermidor (Aug. 15.)

VIII. "Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications the negotiations for a definitive peace ſhall continue; both ſides ſhall agree upon a place for negotiation; the plenipotentiaries ſhall be there in twenty days, at the lateſt, after the exchange.

IX. "His Majeſty the Emperor and King and the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic reciprocally engage, in their word of honour, to keep the preſent Articles ſecret until they ſhall be ratified

X. "The powers of M. de St. Julien being contained in a letter from the Emperor to the Firſt Conſul, the full powers, inveſted with the uſual formalities, ſhall be exchanged with the ratification of the preſent preliminaries, which ſhall not bind the reſpective governments till after the ratification.

We, the underſigned, have agreed upon and signed the preſent Preliminaries at Paris, this 9th Thermidor (28th Day of July) 1800.

(Signed) "Compte DE ST. JULIEN.
"C. M. TALLEYRAND."

On the 19th General Moreau addreſſed the army in a ſpirited Proclamation.

PROCLAMATION.

LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

The GENERAL *in* CHIEF.

"SOLDIERS!"

"The French Government, notwithſtanding its ſucceſſes in Germany and Italy, had conſented to an armiſtice, to negociate peace with its enemies.

"The treaty of the 28th of July, made at Paris by the

Miniſter of Foreign Affairs and the Count St. Julien, is the proof of its moderation, and of its deſire for peace.

" The Emperor has conſtantly refuſed to ratify it, and upon the denunciation of a renewal of hoſtilities, he has propoſed to renew negociation.

" Our Government conſents to it; but perſuaded, in common with all Europe, that our enemies have only wiſhed to gain time to repair their loſſes, it demands places of ſecurity as a pledge of their ſincerity.

" The Firſt Conſul, fully confident of your devotion to the Republic, and of your valour, regards peace as ſpeedy and certain, becauſe it is you who are charged with conquering it.

" The General in Chief orders this Proclamation, the treaty of the preliminaries of peace ſigned at Paris the 9th Thermidor (July 28), and his Letter to the General in Chief of the Auſtrian army, to be put among the orders of the army, and printed in French and German.

" Head-quarters, Nymphenbourg, 2d complimentary day, 8th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible."

(Signed) " MORFAU."

(a true copy) " DESOLLES.

General of Diviſion, and Chief of the Staff."

The Feaſt of the 1ſt Vendemaire arrived, and the gloomy expectations that filled every breaſt were aggravated by the unfavourableneſs of the weather. The moment had been calculated when new torrents of blood would begin to flow; and even the levity of the thoughtleſs Pariſians gave way to the apprehenſions that were entertained for the fate of ſome beloved brother, ſon, or friend. Every heart palpitated with ſuſpenſe whilſt the Conſuls were attending to the funeral diſcourſe delivered in honour of Kleber and Deſaix: but, after the Miniſter of the Interior had addreſſed the immenſe multitude, collected in the Temple of Mars, in a ſpeech relating only to the Feaſt,

he ſurpriſed the aſſembly by announcing tidings worthy of ſuch a feſtival, contained in a diſpatch from General Moreau, received by telegraph that morning :

TELEGRAPHIC BULLETIN.

LINE OF STRASBURG.

MOREAU, *Commander in Chief of the Army of the Rhine to Gen.* BUONAPARTE, *Firſt Conſul of the Republic.*

Head-quarters, Sept. 20.

I have concluded a new armiſtice : the three places of Ingoldſtadt, Ulm, and Philipſburgh, are to be ſurrendered within five, and evacuated within ten days.

(A true Copy) " CHAPPE."

The Miniſter then communicated the following Note, to the citizens aſſembled in the Temple of Mars to celebrate the fête of the Republic.

The FIRST CONSUL *to the* PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES *of the Departments.*

" The Preliminaries of Peace were ſigned at Paris on the 9th Thermidor (July 28) between Citizen Talleyrand, Miniſter of Foreign Affairs, and Count St. Julien, and ratified, 24 hours after, by the Conſuls. Citizen Duroc was directed to carry them to Vienna. The intrigues of the faction inimical to peace, which appears ſtill to enjoy ſome credit, have induced the Emperor to refuſe ratifying them. The refuſal was founded upon a Note from the King of England, who demanded that his Envoys ſhould be admitted to the Congreſs of Luneville, conjointly with the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor.

" The Government were then forced to break off the Armiſtice, in order not to loſe the remainder of the autumn in vain parlies.

" Gen. Moreau had orders to communicate to the enemy's General the Preliminaries, ſuch as they have been printed in the Official Journal, and to make known to him, that if they were not ratified in 24 hours, or if his

Imperial Majeſty wanted ulterior explanations, he ſhould ſurrender to the French Army the three fortreſſes of Ulm Ingoldſtadt, and Philipſburgh, if not, that hoſtilities would re-commence.

" The Government alſo made known to the King of England, that they ſhould ſee no inconvenience in admitting his Envoys to the Congreſs of Luneville, if he would conſent to a Naval Truce, which ſhould offer to France the ſame advantage which the continuation of the Continental Truce gives to the Emperor.

" The Government has this moment received by the telegraph the news, " that his Majeſty, the Emperor, has himſelf proceeded to his army on the Inn, has conſented to ſurrender the three fortreſſes of Ulm, Ingoldſtadt, and Phillipſburgh, which are this day occupied by the troops of the Republic; and that M. de Lehrbach, furniſhed with the neceſſary powers from his Majeſty, the Emperor, is at the head-quarters at Alt-Oettingen, with orders to repair to Luneville."

" The difficulties which the conditions of a maritime truce naturally preſent, will ſtill lead to ſome delays; but if the two Governments do not agree on the conditions of the ſaid truce, then France, and his Majeſty, the Emperor, will treat ſeparately for a particular peace on the baſis of the Preliminaries; and if, which cannot be imagined, the Engliſh party ſtill ſhould be able to influence the miniſter of Vienna, the troops of the Republic will fear neither ſnow, nor the rigour of the ſeaſons, and will carry on the war to all extremity during the winter, without leaving time for the enemy to form new armies.

" Thus the principles of the government are extreme moderation in the conditions, but a firm reſolution to reſtore peace to the continent ſpeedily.

" The moſt vigorous meaſures have been taken to ſecond, in this eſſential object, the will of the French people.

" Such is the whole ſecret of the politics of their Government.".

On the ſecond complimentary day, 8th year (19th September, 1800) the Emperor empowered the Count Lehrbach and Baron Lauer to treat with Lahorie, general of brigade. The next morning was ſigned the following Act:

CONVENTION,

Of a Prolongation of a Suſpenſion of Hoſtilities between the French Army of the Rhine and the Army of his Imperial Majeſty in Germany.

Count Lehrbach, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majeſty, with his army of Germany, and Baron Lauer, Field Marſhal of the armies of his Majeſty, on one ſide, and Victor Faneau Lahorie, General of Brigade of the French army of the Rhine on the other, charged reſpectively with full power neceſſary to conclude and ſign a Convention relative to a prolongation of the ſuſpenſion of arms, have agreed as follows:—

Art. I. "His Majeſty the Emperor and King, at the demand of the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, and with a view of giving a proof of his deſire to ſtop the ſcourge of war, conſents that the places of Philipſbourgh and Ulm, with the forts depending upon them, and upon Ingolſtadt, which are compriſed in the line of demarcation fixed by the Convention of the 15th of July laſt (26th Meſſidor), ſhall be delivered up to the diſpoſition of the French army a pledge of his intentions.

II. "The garriſons at preſent in the places ſhall be allowed a free paſſage out, with all belonging to them, and ſhall repair to the Imperial army of Germany.

III. "The evacuation of theſe places, as well by the garriſons as of ammunition of every kind, ſhall take place within ten days at furtheſt. To this effect the French army ſhall furniſh every facility in its power, by means of tranſports of every kind, which ſhall be at the expence, however, of the Emperor and King. As to what regards the taking poſſeſſion of the places, one of the gates of the

great communications ſhall be delivered up in five days to the diſpoſition of the French army. The choice ſhall be determined by the delegates, who ſhall be immediately ſent in the ſhorteſt poſſible time to verify their actual ſtate.

IV. "The warlike ammunition and proviſions ſhall alſo be taken away: the ſame proviſion ſhall extend to the artillery, with the exception of that of the Empire; the latter ſhall be verified and certified by delegates appointed to that effect.

V. "The means of evacuating the places, as well as the ſubſiſtence and evacuation of the ſick who cannot be tranſported with the garriſon, ſhall be determined with the ſhorteſt poſſible delay.

VI. "By means of the above-mentioned diſpoſitions there ſhall be a prolongation of the armiſtice, and ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between the armies of his Imperial Majeſty, and of his allies, and the army of the Rhine of the French Republic, for forty-five days, beginning from to-morrow, and including fifteen days notice for the renewal of hoſtilities, if that ſhould take place.

VII. "The General in Chief of the army of the Rhine engages that hoſtilities, in caſe they have been commenced by the French army of Italy, ſhall immediately ceaſe.

VIII. "The line of demarcation fixed by the convention of the 15th of July laſt (26th Meſſidor) is preſerved, in all its details, under the modification included under Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, above given, and thoſe which may follow.

IX. "The French army of the Rhine ſhall return and ſtop upon the two banks of the Iſer, and the Imperial army of Germany upon the two banks of the Inn, each at a diſtance of three thouſand toiſes from the rivers or the places of their courſe: only there ſhall be placed a chain of advanced poſts upon the line of demarcation fixed by the convention of the 15th July (26th Meſſidor.")

X. "The diſpoſitions of the ſaid treaty ſhall be executed in every thing which is not contrary to the preſent.

(The 8th article of the convention of the 15th July (26th Meſſidor) is not only applicable to the inhabitants of

the places above-mentioned in all its diſpoſitions; but the General in Chief is alſo invited to take into conſideration the ſituation in which theſe inhabitants have been placed by the diſaſters of the war.)

XI. "The preſent Convention ſhall be ſent by couriers to all the commanders of corps belonging to the reſpective armies, both in Germany and Italy, with the utmoſt expedition, in order that not only hoſtilities may be and may remain ſuſpended, but that the execution of it may immediately have effect and terminate at the period abſolutely neceſſary in regard to diſtances.

XII. "Delegates ſhall be named by the generals of the two armies for the execution of the articles of the above Convention who can demand that meaſure:

"Done in duplicate at Hohenlindea, the 19th September, (3d complimentary day, 8th year.")

(Signed) "COUNT DE LEHRBACH.
"LAUER, Field Marſhal.
"VICTOR F. LAHOIRE.
(A true copy "MOREAU, Gen. in Chief,"

In reviewing the whole conduct of Auſtria in this latter altercation, it is impoſſible to obſerve any thing great, except what the partial eyes of Engliſhmen will reluctantly diſcern—the magnanimity with which ſhe hazarded herſelf to oblige the Engliſh Government; for though every feeling of honour called upon her to obtain the object for which the war had been entered upon; that ſtruggle, which might have been denominated a laudable perſeverance, ſo long as ſucceſs could be hoped for, aſſumed the character of an irritating and vexatious obſtinacy, from the repeated proofs that the Emperor had received of his utter inability to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies. In this point of view the conduct of the court of Vienna was truly

deſpicable; but, after having in fact acknowledged its weakneſs by the treaty of Campo Formio, it had loſt all that ſuch a frivolous conteſt was calculated to ſecure, and, therefore, muſt have been actuated by ſome other motive; that motive has been traced, by ſome Engliſhmen, up to the deſire of obtaining a reſtoration of loſt territories at the expenſe of England, in exchange for the conquered colonies to be ceded to France: but this would have been a policy too abſurd for a council of idiots to have purſued; for by ſuffering France to have continued at war with England for a few years, till ſhe had turned her attention to other objects, and by uſing the interval of peace to have conſolidated the reſources of the Empire, Francis would have been able to take the field, at the end of that period, in order to have recovered thoſe territories himſelf, at as ſmall an expenſe, and with a much greater chance of ſucceſs, than he could keep it, ſurrounded as he was on all ſides after the battle of Marengo. The truth is, that England had ſhewn a ſincere deſire to aid the Confederacy, and had expended large ſums for that purpoſe; and though the injudicious arrangements of the Britiſh miniſters had rendered thoſe exertions generally ineffectual, yet moſt of the powers gave the country credit for its good intentions: and the Engliſh cabinet having made it a particular point with the Emperor, that he ſhould make the laſt poſſible effort upon this occaſion to obtain a general congreſs, he took that opportunity of ſhewing the obligation he felt himſelf under to that power.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Negociation for a Naval Armistice terminated.—Austrian and French Plenipotentiaries appointed to negociate at Luneville.—More French Violations.—More English Expeditions.—Surrender of Malta.—Convention between France and America.—Efforts to carry on "War in Disguise."

THE conferences relative to the naval armistice, which had been carried on between M. Otto, the French commissary at London, for the exchange of prisoners, and certain persons appointedby the English ministry, in consequence of a communication made to M. Talleyrand, by the Imperial minister Baron Thugut, at the request of Lord Minto, on the 11th of August, continued without relaxation until the 8th of October, when the correspondence was closed by M. Otto.

Little doubt had been entertained of bringing this difficult subject to a satisfactory conclusion, after the interchange of the first notes; but feeble as even those hopes were, they were entirely dissipated from the time that the Emperor had resolved to give up his fortresses. Several projects and counter projects had passed between the negociators, when M. Otto desired a verbal explanation of the leading points in discussion, and in the course of conversation with Mr. Hammond, threw out the most pointed assertions of the determination of France, in the event of the naval armistice not being concluded, to pursue the course of her victories in Germany and Italy, and of the facilities which the conquest of Naples and Sicily, (events which he regarded as inevitable) would af-

ford to the French Government of obtaining, by force, thoſe objects relative to Egypt and Malta, which diſinclined the Britiſh miniſtry to agree to the armiſtice.

Next, to ſending ſupplies to the colonies, Buonaparte's aim was to ſeparate the Allies in his negociations with them, and when he ſaw that he could not gain the former point, he reſolved to avail himſelf of the means he poſſeſſed of obtaining the latter. No ſooner had he therefore learned, by the reſult of Mr. Hammond's converſation with M. Otto, that the Britiſh were firm in their reſolution, then he ordered that the negociation ſhould ceaſe, as far as it contemplated the congreſs at Luneville. In conſequence of inſtructions to that effect, Monſ. Otto informed the Britiſh miniſtry, that the notes laſt exchanged, and ſeveral important events which had ſubſequently changed the baſis upon which the armiſtice had been propoſed, had determined the Firſt Conſul to put an end to the negociation upon that footing; but that he was, notwithſtanding, invariably diſpoſed to receive any overtures relative to a ſeparate negociation between France and Great Britain, and that the mode of ſuch overture entirely depended upon the option of his Majeſty: that when the King ſhould think proper to ſend for that purpoſe a plenipotentiary to Paris, he was authoriſed not only to conſent to it but to deliver to him the neceſſary paſſport. That, if, on the contrary, his Majeſty ſhould prefer that the preliminary negotiations ſhould be begun at London, ſpecial powers would be ſent to him for that purpoſe.

The door to peace was thus left open; but it is unaccountable how capriciouſly the Engliſh cabinet con-

ducted itself, having wasted two months in a squabble which every man of plain sense had seen would end in vanity; and which, even if it had terminated favourably, would only have been a preparatory step towards peace, and it refused to treat now that peace itself became the object of the negotiation!

LETTER

From MR. HAMMOND *to* M. OTTO.

"SIR, Downing Street, October 9, 1800.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter, of yesterday's date; and I am directed, in return, to acquaint you, that his Majesty's government entirely agrees in the opinion there expressed, that all further discussion of the terms of a naval armistice would be superfluous, as the only object which it was proposed to his Majesty to secure by such an arrangement has, in the mean time, been made the ground of separate sacrifices required from his Ally.

"With respect to the proposal of opening negotiations for a separate peace; his Majesty, retaining always the sincere desire which he has uniformly expressed for the restoration of general tranquillity in Europe, must, at the same time, renew his former declarations of an invariable determination to execute with punctuality and good faith his engagements with his Allies; and must, therefore, steadily decline to enter into any measures tending to separate his interests from those of the powers who shall continue to make a common cause with him in the prosecution of the war.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "GEORGE HAMMOND."

The necessity of continuing the war for the interest of his Allies, as here expressed in the King's name, affirmed pretty strongly that the Emperor did not sincerely design to make peace, at least it gave the French

Louis Wm. Otto.

Lith. by Jones & Bumford, [illegible]

a pretence for ſuſpecting him; and, whether it was a mere pretence or not that was wanting, the Conſul took ſuch meaſures as plainly indicated that he ſhould not act upon the peace before it came.

Count Cobentzel, the Auſtrian prime miniſter, was appointed to treat with the brother of the Conſul (Joſeph Buonaparté) at Luneville, and the armiſtice which had been agreed upon, both in Germany and Italy, was obſerved by the main armies; but this did not prevent the French troops from ſeizing upon the ſtates of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, for no better reaſon, than that the Auſtrian armies were recruiting in his dominions, and that the Engliſh ſhips took ſhelter in his principal port, Leghorn.

Of all the powers that had entered into the alliance againſt France the Grand Duke had evinced the leaſt zeal, and had acted moſt from neceſſity, and the ruin that Buonaparté was preparing for him was not called for by any ſpecies of violent or diſhonourable hoſtility that he had attempted, but becauſe he was a branch of the Houſe of Auſtria. This was one of thoſe occaſions in which the Conſul (though not a coward) committed the fault that cowards are always guilty of, that of exerciſing his wrath principally againſt the weak. In this marauding excurſion the French took a vaſt quantity of property belonging to the Engliſh, Portugeuſe, and Neapolitans, beſides forty ſail of ſhips in the port of Leghorn.

The Engliſh had an expedition, at this period leſs profitably employed on the coaſt of Spain, quacking about, under the command of that great general Sir James Pulteney! and ſeeking for ſome city, town, or village, that wanted to be taken! but, at laſt, quitted the purſuit, as wiſely as King Saul, who ſet out after

his father's aſſes and could not find them! Slight attempts were made againſt Ferrol and Cadiz, but without any other advantage being obtained, more than that of augmenting the ridicule that all mankind attach to an Engliſh expedition.

It is no detraction to ſay, that the Engliſh gained no honour by theſe expeditions; they were made at a time when Spain was ſmarting very ſeverely under two of the moſt bitter ſcourges that can afflict mankind, —peſtilence and famine; the ſcourge of war hovered over their coaſts and threatened to complete the climax of woe. It was ſuſpected, and charged upon Mr. Pitt's miniſtry, that the attacks upon Spain were made in conſequence of her calamitous ſituation to take advantage of her weakneſs: this, however, is an imputation for which there is not the ſmalleſt authority, as the expedition was fitted out and commiſſioned before the malady was known to exiſt.

The people on the continent obſerved upon this occaſion, that the Engliſh miniſtry appeared to have adopted new tactics of offenſive war: "Their armies," ſaid they, "are everywhere except where they may be of ſervice to their allies: they threaten Holland, Brittany, Provence, and Spain, but they hurt nobody! the Emperor may think he has an ally; but has he one?"

Buonaparté did not long enjoy the exultation ariſing out of theſe repeated diſappointments of the Engliſh; nor did the people at home continue long in the enjoyment of the deluſions that he had encouraged as to the ſafety of Malta; for before it was known in France what effect the confident aſſertions of M. Otto upon that head would produce in the Britiſh cabinet: news was received in France of its ſurrender to the Britiſh forces.

The French papers admitted that in the blockade of this iſland, for two years and five days, the Engliſh ſhewed an equal degree of firmneſs and intrepidity. "Their veſſels were conſtantly cruiſing," they ſtate, "before the ports of the iſland, braving and defying ſtorms and ſeaſons:" the French garriſon and the inhabitants, in the mean time, underwent the moſt dreadful privations; for a long time they were reduced to ſubſiſt on aſſes and mules fleſh, which ſold at 1s. 6d. per pound. Towards the concluſion of the ſiege the houſes were ſearched for cats and mice, for food! a fowl, at this time, coſt upwards of 3l.; a ſucking-pig was ſold for 500 florins; an egg for 1s. and every other article in proportion! The only proviſion left was bread, the French having found on their arrival immenſe magazines of corn. Eight hundred of the garriſon are ſaid, however, to have periſhed during the blockade through famine and diſeaſe. Indeed, it would be impoſſible to beſtow too much praiſe upon the zeal patience, ſkill, and indefatigable exertions of the Britiſh officers, both marine and military, as well as the ſoldiers and ſailors employed upon this ſervice; for General Pigot, in his diſpatches, paſſed great encomiums upon General Moncrief and his aid-de-camp Captain Dalrymple, as alſo upon Captain Ball, of the navy, and Lieutenant Vivion, of the military; but, more particularly, upon General Graham, whoſe promptitude had forced the place to ſurrender much earlier than it otherwiſe would havedone.

This officer poſſeſſes a fortune of upwards of ſix thouſand pounds per annum, and was member for the county of Perth. He had, previouſly, been diſtinguiſhed as a gentleman of great activity and enter-

priſe. He paid a viſit to Toulon when it was in the hands of the Britiſh; and, although he was then a private individual, ſuſtaining no military character, yet, as he poſſeſſed a local knowledge of the country, he led the Britiſh in ſeveral ſorties which were very ſucceſsful, and which are very handſomely acknowledged in the official accounts publiſhed of theſe events. Upon his arrival in this country he raiſed two battalions, which formed the 90th regiment. Soon after, Government employed him officially with the Auſtrian army in Italy, where he was ſhut up in Mantua with General Wurmſer. Immediately upon the inveſtment of this fortreſs, Colonel Graham undertook to hurry thoſe who were coming to its relief, by appriſing them of its real ſtate; and, accordingly, made his way through the enemy's lines under the cloud of night, and reached in ſafety the Auſtrian camp. He was next employed under General Stewart in taking Minorca; and the Gazette bears teſtimony, that, owing to him, with two regiments ſurpriſing a Spaniſh poſt, that valuable iſland was ſurrendered with ſo little loſs to the Britiſh. Laſt of all, he was employed againſt Malta; and to him belongs the glory of having principally contributed to gain a poſſeſſion, which was for his country, both in a military and commercial point of view, the moſt important achievement it had made during the war.

Malta is an iſland between Sicily and the coaſt of Africa, twenty-one miles in length and ten in breadth: it is very rocky, yielding little corn and wine, but, on the other hand, great quantities of cotton and fruit. The coral fiſhery on the coaſt is pretty conſiderable. There is but a ſingle ſpring of freſh water in the whole iſland. The language of the coun-

try people is bad Arabic, but the inhabitants of the towns ſpeak Italian. Its chief town is Valette, which is a very ſtrong fortification between two harbours, and the caſtle of St. Elmo: at the time of its capture it was the reſidence of the Grand Maſter: it was built in 1566, and named after the then grand maſter, John de la Valette. It contained a great number of convents, both for monks and nuns, a tribunal of the inquiſition, and was lately the ſee of a biſhop. The number of its inhabitants is computed at twenty thouſand.

The island of Malta, with the two ſmaller ones of Gozo and Comieno, belonged to an order of knights inſtituted, at the commencement of the 12th century, at Jeruſalem, by the Weſtern Chriſtians, the members of which were at firſt called Knights Hoſpitallers, or Knights of St. John, becauſe it was their duty to attend pilgrims in the hoſpital erected by merchants of Amalfi, together with a chapel conſecrated to St. John. To this duty they ſoon added another; namely, that of accompanying and protecting pilgrims from the attacks of robbers and enemies; and, at length, the members of this ſociety were divided into three claſſes, called Knights, Chaplains, and Servants at Arms. The firſt performed military ſervices, the ſecond executed the eccleaſiſtical functions, and the third took care of pilgrims, and of the ſick (among whom at that time was a great number afflicted with the leproſy.) Being expelled out of Paleſtine, and, finally, from St. Jean d'Acre, by the Mahometans, they maintained poſſeſſion of the iſland of Cyprus till the commencement of the 15th century, when they were obliged to remove to Rhodes, till, in 1532, they were likewiſe driven from thence by the Turkiſh Emperor

Soliman I. After this they went firſt to Candia, and then partly to Venice, Rome, and Viterbo, but principally to Nice, Villa Franca, and Syracuſe, in Sicily, till, in 1330, the Emperor Charles V. gave them the iſland of Malta, together with the two ſmaller ones, as a fief of the kingdom of Sicily; whence they were called Knights of Malta. In this new ſituation, in 1565, they were attacked by a powerful Turkiſh army, which was, however, compelled to retire with great loſs.

The Order is divided into eight nations, or languages; namely, that of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany, Caſtile, and England. Provence had the firſt place, becauſe Gerard, the founder of the Order, was of that country. The Engliſh nation, which has been ſeparated from the Order ſince 1537, was, in 1781, replaced, with the Bavarian, founded by the Elector Charles Theodore. The poſſeſſions of the Order, which were greatly increaſed by the ſuppreſſion of the Knights Templars, at the commencement of the 14th century, ſuffered a great diminution in thoſe countries, which embraced the doctrines of the Reformation. Of late years, beſides the Bavarian inſtitution, they obtained an addition by the eſtabliſhment of the grand Priory of Oſtrog, in Poland; and, in 1777, the Order of St. Anthony, with all its poſſeſſions, was united with that of Malta.

The head of this Order is ſtyled Grand Maſter of the Holy Hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem, and Guardian of the Poor of Jeſus Chriſt. By foreign powers he is entitled Altezza Eminentiſſima, and has the rank of a prince. Next to him the principal officers are the heads of the Eight Nations. After

them come the Priors, the chief of whom is the Grand Prior of Germany, who is a Prince of the Empire.

The Maſters of the Order, in Brandenburg, Saxony, and Pomerania, are in ſome degree ſubject to him.

The Knights, properly ſo called, muſt all be of noble extraction, with reſpect to families, from Florence, Sienna, Genoa, and Lucca. Commerce, which by many is looked upon as a degradation, is not eſteemed any detriment if the nobility of the family be properly acknowledged. Thoſe who can prove their noble deſcent in the moſt ſatisfactory manner are called Cavallieri di Giuſtizia, (knights by right) and they whoſe title is rather dubious, but are admitted on account of their own merit, are ſtyled Cavallieri di Grazia (knights by favour.) The obligation of the Knights to make at leaſt three cruſades againſt the Turks and Barbary corſairs is not very ſtrictly obſerved. The naval force of the Order was, in 1770, compoſed of four gallies three galliots, four ſhips of ſixty guns, a frigate of thirty-ſix, and ſeveral ſmall veſſels.

The Knights follow the rules of the Auguſtines, bind themſelves by a vow to poverty, obedience, and chaſtity by which, however, in the Maſterſhip of Brandenburgh, where the Knights are Proteſtants, is not underſtood a ſingle life, but fidelity to the marriage-bed. In time of war they wear a red belt, with a ſilver-coloured croſs, but in peace a long black cloak, with an eight-cornered white croſs on the left ſide and one of gold on the breaſt. In 1798 ſome of the Knights had traitorouſly conſpired to give up that iſland to Buonaparté, on his way to Egypt: but the

majority, as well as the principal inhabitants, were decidedly averſe to the French Government.

Having maintained his poſt with unexampled firmneſs, the French commander hoped ſtill to huſband his proviſions, by ſending away the two frigates, Juſtice and Diana, at the end of Auguſt: but it was found that all further reſiſtance would be only vexatious, for the reaſons ſtated in the following

MINUTE

Of the COUNCIL OF WAR.—*September* 2.

"The generals, the commanding officers by land and ſea, the commiſſaries of war and of the marine, the commandants of the forts, and the officers of all ranks, who command the detachments of the different corps, having been convoked by the general of diviſion, Vaubois, Commander in Chief in the iſlands of Malta and Goza, to hold a council of war; and, being aſſembled at the National Palace of the city of Malta, on the Weſt ſide:

"Having heard the report of General Vaubois, from which it appears, that the magazines of ſubſiſtence of this place have been entirely exhauſted for more than a month! that the magazines of drinkables are in the ſame ſtate; and that the bread, the only food which remains to ſupport the garriſon and the population, will be completely finiſhed by the 22d of this month: the Council conſidering,

"That the garriſon of Malta having been reduced to a ratio of one-third for the laſt two years, has fulfilled with honour the duty which was impoſed upon it, of preſerving this place to the Republic till the laſt extremity; that, after having repelled all the attacks the enemy has made upon it, it has, by its fortitude and energy, obliged the enemy to perſevere in a ſtrict blockade, which does not permit us to hope for any ſuccours from without:

"That the forces which the enemy employ to ſecure the blockade, both by land and ſea, do not afford the brave garriſon of Malta any opportunity of ſupplying themſelves by their courage or devotion, in a country naturally barren

and full of fortifications, which nature and art have multiplied, to confine us in our fortifications; that, beſides, every enterpriſe for that purpoſe would be unſucceſsful, from the precautions the enemy has taken, according to the reports of the deſerters, to keep their command of the fleet:

"That we cannot, without riſking the exiſtence of twelve thouſand men, of which the population conſiſts, and of the garriſon of this place, defer longer to enter into a parley with the enemy, for the purpoſe of obtaining an honourable capitulation, and ſuch a one as is due to the brave ſoldiers who have ſo long ſuffered for their country:

"That the marine has partaken with honour of the labour and privations of the garriſon; and that it has ſought, by ſending away the two frigates, the Juſtice and the Diana, to diminiſh the loſſes the Republic will ſuffer in theſe parts:

"That the labours of war and thoſe of humanity ſufficiently authoriſe, the General, commandant of this place, to enter into a negotiation with the enemy:

"Has reſolved, that General Vaubois ſhall, on the 4th of this month, demand a parley of the Engliſh commander, to propoſe a capitulation; and that Rear-admiral Villeneuve ſhall join to ſtipulate in favour of the marines, to the end that they may have the ſame advantages as ſhall be granted to the garriſon.

Here follow the ſignatures.

A true copy. DOT, Commiſſary of War."

ARTICLES

Of Capitulation between the General of Diviſion, VAUBOIS, *Commander in Chief of the Iſlands of Malta and Goza, and* REAR-ADMIRAL VILLENEUVE, *commanding the Marine at Malta, on the one Part; and* MAJOR-GENERAL PIGOT, *commanding the Troops of his Britannic Majeſty and of his Allies, and* CAPTAIN MARTIN, *commanding the Veſſels of his Britannic Majeſty and his Allies before Malta, on the other Part.*

ART. I. "The garriſon of Malta, and of the dependent forts, ſhall march out, to be embarked and carried to

Marſeilles, at the day and hour agreed on, with all the honours of war; that is to ſay, with drums beating, colours flying, and matches lighted, preceded by two pieces of cannon, 4-pounders, with their carriages, to be ſerved by the artillery, and a baggage-waggon for the infantry. The officers civil and military, of the marine, and all belonging to that department ſhall be alſo conducted to Toulon.—Anſwer. The garriſon ſhall receive the honours of war demanded; but, as it is impoſſible they ſhall be all embarked immediately, they ſhall be ſupplied according to the following arrangement:

"As ſoon as the Capitulation ſhall be ſigned, the forts Ricaſoli and Tignie ſhall be delivered to the troops of his Britannic Majeſty and the veſſels ſhall enter into the port. The national gate ſhall be occupied by a guard, compoſed of an equal number of French and Engliſh, till the veſſels ſhall be ready to receive the firſt embarkation: then all the garriſon ſhall defile, with the honours of war, to the fleet, where they ſhall lay down their arms: thoſe who ſhall not be included in the firſt embarkation ſhall occupy the iſland and the fort Mannel, having an armed guard to prevent any perſons going about the country. The garriſon ſhall be conſidered priſoners of war, and ſhall not ſerve againſt his Britannic Majeſty till exchanged; to this effect the reſpective officers ſhall give their word of honour. All the artillery, ammunition, and public magazines, of all forts, ſhall be delivered up to the officers fixed on for that purpoſe, as alſo the inventories and the public papers.

II. "The general of brigade, Chanez, Commandant of the place and the forts, the general of brigade, Dehennezel, Commandant of Artillery and Engineers, the officers, ſubaltern officers, and ſoldiers belonging to the land forces; the officers, men, and crews, and every other deſcription of perſons employed in the marine, Citizen Tierre Alphonſe Guys, commiſſary general of Commercial Affairs for the French Republic in Syria and Paleſtine, accidentally at Malta with his family, the perſons in military and civil employments, the ordonnateurs and commiſſaries of war

and of the navy, the Civil Adminiſtrations, and all Members whatſoever of the conſtituted authorities, ſhall have liberty to carry away their arms, their perſonal effects, and to diſpoſe of their property, of whatever deſcription.—Anſwer. Granted, with the exception of the arms laid down by the ſoldiers conformable to the proviſions of the firſt Article. The ſubaltern officers ſhall retain their ſabres.

III. " All perſons, of whatſoever nation, who bore arms in the ſervice of the Republic during the ſiege, ſhall be conſidered as forming part of the garriſon.—Anſ. Granted.

IV. " The diviſion ſhall be embarked at the expense of his Britannic Majeſty. Every ſoldier or perſon employed in any civil departments ſhall receive, during his paſſage, the ratios allowed to the rank of each, according to the French laws and regulations. The officers, members of the civil adminiſtrations, who paſs into France, ſhall enjoy the ſame treatment, themſelves and their families, by aſſimilating them to the military degrees correſponding with the elevation of their functions.—Anſ. Granted, conformable to the uſage of the Engliſh marine, which allows only the ſame ratio to all perſons of whatever rank or condition.

V. " There ſhall be furniſhed the neceſſary number of carriages and boats, for carrying and putting on board the perſonal property of the generals, their aide de camps, the ordonnateurs, and commiſſaaries, the chiefs of corps, the officers, Citizen Guys, the civil and military adminiſtrators by land and ſea; as alſo the papers belonging to the Councils of the adminiſtration of the corps, thoſe of the commiſſaries of war by land and ſea, of the Paymaſter of the Diviſions, and of the ſeveral other perſons employed in the civil and military adminiſtrations. Their effects and papers ſhall not be ſubjected to any ſearch or inſpection, under the ſecurity given by the generals, who ſtipulate that they ſhall not Contain any public or private property.—Anſ. Granted.

VI. " All ſhips, of every deſcription, belonging to the

Republic, in a ſtate capable of putting to ſea, ſhall depart at the ſame time with the diviſion on their return to a French port, after having been furniſhed with the neceſſary proviſions.—Refuſed.

VII. " The ſick capable of being removed ſhall be embarked with the diviſion, and ſupplied with proviſions, medicines, ſurgical cheſts, effects, and officers of health, neceſſary for their maintenance and cure during the paſſage. Thoſe who ſhall remain behind ſhall be treated properly, the General in Chief leaving at Malta a phyſician and a ſurgeon in the ſervice of France to take care of them. They ſhall be furniſhed with lodgings, gratis, ſhould they leave the hoſpital, and be ſent back to France when their ſituation will permit, with every thing belonging to them, and in the ſame manner as the garriſon. The Generals in Chief by land and ſea, in evacuating Malta, confide themſelves to the loyalty and humanity of the Engliſh General.—Granted.

VIII. " All perſons of whatever nation, inhabitants of the iſland of Malta, or others, ſhall neither be troubled, diſturbed, or moleſted for their political opinions, nor for any acts done during the time that Malta has been in the power of the French Government. This diſpoſition applies principally in its whole extent to thoſe who have carried arms, or have filled employments, civil, adminiſtrative, or military. Their conduct ſhall not be liable to enquiry in any reſpect, much leſs ſhall they be perſecuted for acts done in office.

This article does not appear to be a proper object of a military capitulation; but all the inhabitants who ſhall wiſh to remain, or ſhall be permitted to do ſo, may be aſſured that they ſhall be treated with juſtice and humanity, and enjoy the full protection of the laws.

IX. " The French who inhabit Malta, and all the Maltoſe of whatever deſcription, who may be deſirous to follow the French army, and repair to France with their properties, ſhall be at liberty to do ſo. Thoſe who poſſeſs

moveable or fixed property, which cannot be immediately diſpoſed of by ſale, and who ſhall have an intention to become inhabitants of France, ſhall have ſix months from the date of the preſent capitulation to ſell their landed or other property. Theſe properties ſhall be reſpected. They ſhall have power to act in perſon, if they remain behind; or by their agent on the ſpot, ſhould they follow the diviſion. When they ſhall have finiſhed their buſineſs, within the ſtipulated time, they ſhall be furniſhed with paſſports for France, and be at liberty to carry away their remaining property, and alſo their capitals in money and bills.—Anſ. Granted, with reference to the anſwer of the preceding Article.

X. " Immediately after the ſigning of the capitulation, the Engliſh General ſhall leave it entirely at the diſpoſition of the General commanding the French troops to ſend a felucca, with the neceſſary crew, and an officer, charged to carry the capitulation to the French Government. He ſhall receive the neceſſary paſſports for his ſafe paſſage.—Anſ. Granted.

XI. " As ſoon as the articles of capitulation ſhall be ſigned, the gate called Des Bombes ſhall be ſurrendered to the Engliſh General, and ſhall be occupied by a guard of Engliſh and French, each of equal force. Theſe guards ſhall not ſuffer either the ſoldiers of the beſieging troops, or any inhabitants of the iſland whatever, to enter the city, until the French troops ſhall have been embarked, and out of ſight of the port. In proportion as the embarkation is completed, the Engliſh troops ſhall occupy the poſts by which they may enter the ſeveral places. The Engliſh General will feel that theſe precautions are indiſpenſible, to prevent any ſubject of diſpute, and that the Articles of Capitulation may be religiouſly obſerved.—Anſ. Granted, conformable to the proviſions in the anſwer to the firſt article. All precautions ſhall be alſo taken to prevent the armed Malteſe from all acceſs to the poſts occupied by the French troops.

XII. " All alienations or ſales of moveable or immoveable property by the French Government during the time it has been in poſſeſſion of Malta, and all tranſactions between individuals, ſhall be held inviolable.—Anſ. Granted, ſo far as they ſhall be juſt and lawful.

XIII. " The agents of Allied Powers, who ſhall be found in the Valetta upon the ſurrender of the place, ſhall be in no wiſe moleſted, and their perſons and properties ſhall be guaranteed by the preſent capitulation.—Anſ. Granted.

XIV. " Every ſhip of war or merchantman coming from France with the Republican flag, and which ſhall preſent itſelf for entrance into the port, ſhall not be conſidered lawful prize, nor ſhall its crew be made priſoners during a ſpace of twenty days from the date of the preſent capitulation, but it ſhall be ſent back ſafe to France.—Anſ. Refuſed.

XV. " The General in Chief, and the other generals, ſhall be embarked with their aids-de-camp, the officers attached to them, as alſo the ordonnateurs and their ſuite, without reſpective ſeparation.—Granted.

XVI. " The priſoners made during the ſiege, compriſing the crews of the William Tell and Diane frigate, ſhall be given up and treated like the garriſon. The ſame proviſion ſhall extend to the crew of the Juſtice, if it was taken on its way to one of the ports of the Republic.—Anſ. " The crew of the William Tell is already exchanged, and that of the Diana is to be ſent to Minorca, to be there exchanged immediately.

XVII. " Nobody in the ſervice of the Republic ſhall be ſubject to any act of reprifals of any kind, under any pretence whatever.—Granted.

XVIII. " Should any difficulty ariſe reſpecting the terms and conditions of the capitulation, they ſhall be interpreted in the ſenſe moſt favourable to the garriſon.—Granted, according to juſtice.

Done and agreed upon at Malta, 18th Fructidor, (Sept. 5), in the 8th year of the French Republic.

(Signed) "General of Diviſion, VAUBOIS.
"Rear Admiral, VILLENEUVE.
"PIGOT, Major General.
"MARTIN, Captain,
Commanding the ſhips of his Britannic Majeſty and his Allies, before Malta."

The loſs of Malta was very much regretted by the French, as might be augured from the pains taken by the journals to provide a ſet-off for it, by ſuch a frivolous event as the concluſion of a treaty with America. Of the journals in France it is neceſſary to obſerve, that, after the uſurpation of Buonaparté, the *Moniteur* was adopted as the Government gazette; thence it has been concluded, that whatever appears in the *Moniteur* may be conſidered as in uniſon with the ſentiments of the Conſul, and this opinion is correct: but it muſt not be, therefore, inferred, that the *Moniteur* alone ſpeaks the ſentiment of the Government: for the Miniſter of Juſtice (as Buonaparté's chief executioner is called) without any law or authority, more than the order of the Deſpot, ſeizes the preſſes, types, authors, printers, and publiſhers, concerned in promulgating any fact or opinion not agreeable to the Government, as often as he pleaſes; and the certainty of being tranſported, without trial or any appearance of juſtice, keeps the French preſs free from any article or inſinuation that the Miniſter of Juſtice has not approved. When, therefore, the French papers ſay, that the treaty with America will conſole them for the loſs of Malta, it muſt be taken as the ſentiment of the Government; and it becomes worth while to preſerve that Treaty, in order

to ſhew poſterity what are theſe mighty advantages that it is calculated to ſecure to the great empires of France and America.

CONVENTION

Between the FRENCH REPUBLIC *and the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA.

"The Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, and the Preſident of the United States of America, equally animated with the deſire to put an end to the differences which have ariſen between the two States, have reſpectively named their plenipotentiaries, and have given them full powers to negociate, and to terminate theſe difficulties, viz.—the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, has nominated as Plenipotentiaries of the ſaid Republic, the Citizens Joſeph Buonaparté, Ex-ambaſſador of the French Republic at Rome; and the Counſellor of State, Charles Pierre Claret Fleurier, Member of the National Inſtitute, and of the Board of Longitude of France, Counſellor of State, and the Preſident of the Section of Marine; and Pierre Louis Roederer, Member of the National Inſtitute, Counſellor of State, and Preſident of the Section of the Interior: and the Preſident of the United States of America, by and with the conſent of the Senate of the ſaid States, has named as their plenipotentiaries, Oliver Wentworth Chief Juſtice of the United States; William Richardſon Davie, heretofore Governor of North Carolina; and W. Vans Murray, Reſident Miniſter of the United States at the Hague.

Theſe, after having deliberately and maturely diſcuſſed the reſpective intereſts, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ART. I. "There ſhall be a ſettled, inviolable, and true and ſincere friendſhip between the French Republic and the United States of America, as well as between their countries, territories, cities, and towns, without any exceptions either of perſons or of places.

II. "The Miniſters Plenipotentiary on each ſide not being able to agree for the preſent relatively to the Treaty of Alliance of the 6th of February, 1778; to the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, of the ſame date; and to the Convention, of the date of the 14th November, 1788; nor relatively to the indemnities mutually due or claimed, the parties ſhall negotiate ulteriorly, with reſpect to theſe objects, within a convenient time; and, till they ſhall have come to an agreement on theſe points, the ſaid Treaties and Convention ſhall have no effect, and the relations between the two nations ſhall be regulated as follows:

III. "The veſſels appertaining to the State which have been taken on either ſide, or may be taken before the ratifications are exchanged, ſhall be reſtored.

IV. "The property captured and not yet condemned definitively, or which may be captured before the exchange of the ratifications, except contraband merchandiſe deſtined for an enemy's port, ſhall be mutually reſtored, on the following proofs of property; viz.

"On either ſide the proof of property relatively to merchant ſhips, armed, or not armed, ſhall be a paſſport, in manner and form as follows:

"'To all thoſe to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, be it known, That leave and permiſſion has been granted to ——, maſter and commander of the ſhip named ——, of the town of ——, of the burthen of —— tons, or thereabouts; and being at preſent in the port and harbour of ——, and bound for ——, laden with ——: that, after his ſhip has been viſited, and before his departure, he ſhall declare on oath, in the preſence of the officers authoriſed for that purpoſe, that the ſaid ſhip appertains to one or more ſubjects of ——, of which the act ſhall be placed at the end of theſe preſents; and, in like manner, that he ſhall obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved by his crew, the maritime ordinances and regulations; and he ſhall give in a liſt, ſigned and atteſted by witneſſes, containing the names and ſurnames, the places of birth and of abode of the perſons compoſing the crew of

his ship and of all those who shall embark in it, and whom he shall not take on board without the knowledge and permission of the officers authorised for that purpose; and in every port or harbour into which he shall enter with his ship he shall produce the present permission to the officers authorised to inspect it, and shall make to them a faithful report of what has passed during his voyage; and he shall bear the colours, arms, and ensigns of the French Republic or the United States during his said voyage. In witness of which we have signed these presents, and caused them to be countersigned by ——, and have affixed to them the seal of our arms.

" ' Given at ——, in the year of grace the——."

" And this Passport shall be sufficient without any other document, notwithstanding any regulation to the contrary. It shall not be required that this Passport shall be renewed or revoked, whatever number of voyages the said ship may have made, at least, if it has not returned home within the space of a year.

" With respect to the cargo; the proofs shall be certificates, stating the place from which the vessel sails and that to which it is bound, in such a manner that prohibited and contraband merchandise may be distinguished by the certificates, which certificates shall have been made out by the officers of the place from which the ship has sailed in the form usual in the country; and if these passports or certificates, or both of them, shall have been destroyed by accident or taken away by force, the want of them shall be supplied by any other proof of property admissible by the general usage of nations.

" With respect to ships which are not merchant ships, the proofs shall be the commission they bear. This article shall take effect from the date of the signature of the present Convention; and if, from the date of the said signature, any property shall have been condemned contrary to the spirit of the said Convention, before this stipulation was known, the property thus condemned shall be, without delay, restored, or its value refunded.

V. " The debts contracted by either of the two nations with the individuals of the other, or between the individuals of the one and the individuals of the other, ſhall be diſcharged, or payment legally enforced, as if there had been no miſunderſtanding between the two States; but this clauſe ſhall not extend to indemnities claimed for captures or for condemnations.

VI. " Commerce ſhall be free between the two contracting parties." The ſhips of the two nations and their privateers, as alſo their prizes, ſhall be treated in the reſpective ports like thoſe of the moſt favoured nation; and, in general, both parties ſhall enjoy, in each other's ports, with reſpect to commerce and navigation, the privileges of the moſt favoured nation.

VII. " The citizens and inhabitants of the United States ſhall be at liberty to diſpoſe, by will, donation, or otherwiſe, of their goods, moveable or immoveable, which they may poſſeſs in the European territory of the French Republic; and the citizens of the French Republic ſhall have the ſame liberty, with reſpect to the goods moveable or immoveable, which they may poſſeſs in the territory of the United States in favour of ſuch perſons as it ſhall ſeem to them good. The citizens and inhabitants of either of the two States who ſhall be heirs to property, moveable or immoveable, ſituated in the other, ſhall ſucceed, *ab inteſtat*, without being required to take out letters of naturalization, and without this ſtipulation being conteſted or prevented under any pretext whatever: and the ſaid heirs, whether by particular title or *ab inteſtat*, ſhall be exempt from all tax whatever in the two nations. It is agreed, that this article ſhall not derogate in any manner from the law as at preſent in force in the two nations, or which may hereafter be promulgated againſt emigration; and alſo, that in the caſe when the laws of one of the two nations ſhall limit foreigners in the exerciſe of their rights over immoveable property, that immoveable property may be ſold or otherwiſe diſpoſed of in favour of the inhabitants of the country

in which it is ſituated, and the other nation ſhall be free to enact ſimilar laws.

VIII. " In order to favour commerce on either ſide, it is agreed, that if, which God forbid, war ſhould take place between the two nations, there ſhall be allowed, on each ſide, to the merchants and other citizens and inhabitants reſpectively, ſix months from the declaration of war, during which time they ſhall be at liberty to retire with their effects and moveables which they may take with them, ſend away, or ſell, as they ſhall chooſe without the leaſt impediment. Their effects, and ſtill leſs their perſons, ſhall not be liable during the ſpace of ſix months to be ſeized; but, on the contrary, paſſports ſhall be given them for themſelves and for the veſſels and effects which they may wiſh to carry or ſend away, theſe paſſports ſhall ſerve as protections againſt any inſult or capture by privateers; and if, during the term above-mentioned, they ſhall ſuffer any injury in their perſons or effects, they ſhall receive complete ſatisfaction.

IX. " The debts due from the individuals of one of the nations to the individuals of the other, ſhall not, in any caſe of war or national quarrel be ſequeſtered or confiſcated, no more than the actions or ſums placed in the public funds, or in public or private banks.

X. " The two Contracting Parties may appoint for the protection of trade commercial agents, who ſhall reſide in France, and in the United States: each of the parties may except from a place as it ſhall judge proper from the places where the reſidence of theſe agents may be fixed. Before any agent can exerciſe his functions, he muſt be accepted in the received forms by the party to which he is ſent; and when he ſhall have been accepted, and have received his *exequatur*, he ſhall enjoy all the rights and privileges enjoyed by ſimilar agents from the moſt favoured nations.

XI. " The citizens of the French Republic ſhall not pay in the ports, harbours, roads, countries, iſlands, cities, and places of the United States any other or greater dues

or impoſts of whatever nature they may be, than thoſe which the moſt favoured nations are or ſhall be required to pay, and they ſhall enjoy the rights, liberties, previleges, immunities, and exemptions, in point of trade, navigation, and commerce, either in paſſing from one part of the ſaid States to another, or in going thither or returning from or to any part of the world, which the ſaid nations enjoy, or ſhall enjoy.

" And reciprocally the Citizens of the United States ſhall enjoy, in the territory of the French Republic in Europe, the ſame privileges and immunities, as well for their property and perſons, as for what concerns their trade, navigation, and commerce.

XII. " The citizens of the two nations may bring their veſſels and merchandize (contraband goods always excepted) into any port whatever belonging to the enemy of the other nation; they may navigate and trade in all freedom and ſecurity with their ſhips and merchandize, in the countries, ports, and places of the enemies of either one or the other party, without obſtacles or difficulties, and not only paſs directly from the ports and places of the enemy, before mentioned, to neutral ports and places, but alſo from every place belonging to an enemy, whether it be or be not ſubmitted to the ſame juriſdiction, provided thoſe places or ports be not blocked up, beſieged, or inveſted. And in caſe, as it often happens, that a veſſel ſhould ſail for a place or port belonging to an enemy not knowing that they are blockaded, beſieged or inveſted, it is agreed that every ſhip, in ſuch circumſtances ſhall be ſent away from ſuch place or port without any part of its cargo being detained or confiſcated (unleſs it be proved to be contraband, or that the ſhip endeavoured to enter the port after having been informed that it was blockaded or inveſted); but it ſhall be permitted to proceed to any other port or place which it may think proper. No ſhip of either nation, having entered a port or place before they ſhall be really blockaded, beſieged, or inveſted by the other, ſhall be prevented

from proceeding with its cargo. If it ſhould be found there after the reduction of the place, the ſhip and cargo ſhall not be confiſcated, but reſtored to the proprietors.

XIII. " In order to regulate what ſhall be underſtood as contraband in time of war, there ſhall be compriſed, under that denomination, powder, ſaltpetre, petards, matches, balls, bullets, bombs, grenades, carcaſes, pikes, halbards, ſwords, waiſt-belts, ſcabbards, horſe-ſaddles, harneſs, cannons, mortars, and their carriages, and, generally, all arms, warlike ammunition, and utenſils for the uſe of troops. All the above-mentioned articles, whenever deſtined for the port of an enemy, are declared contraband, and ſhall be liable to confiſcation. But the ſhip loaded with them, as well as the reſt of the cargo, ſhall be conſidered as free, and by no means violated by the contraband lading, whether it ſhall belong to one or more proprietors.

XIV. " It is ſtipulated by the preſent Treaty, that the free ſhips ſhall equally ſecure the freedom of the commodities, and that every thing found on board ſhips belonging to the citizens of one of the contracting parties, even when the cargo or a part of it belongs to the enemies of either, ſhall be deemed free; contraband goods, however, being always excepted. It is alſo agreed that the ſame liberty ſhall extend to all perſons on board a free ſhip, even ſhould they be enemies of one of the contracting parties, and they ſhall not be taken away from ſaid ſhips unleſs they be military men, and actually in the ſervice of the enemy.

XV. " But, on the other hand, it is agreed that every thing which ſhall be put by the reſpective citizens on board of ſhips belonging to the enemies of the other party, or their ſubjects, ſhall be confiſcated, without diſtinction of prohibited or non-prohibited merchandize, in the ſame manner as if they belonged to the enemy, always excepting the goods and merchandizes ſhipped on board ſaid ſhips before the declaration of war, or even after the declaration, if it was not known at the time of lading: ſo that the commodities of the citizens of either party, whether they be

of the contraband kind as aforeſaid, or otherwiſe, put on board of an enemy's ſhip before the war, or after the declaration, if they be ignorant of it, ſhall by no means be ſubject to confiſcation, but honeſtly and faithfully reſtored to the proprietors without delay, as ſoon as they ſhall be claimed. Underſtanding, nevertheleſs, that no contraband articles ſhall be permitted to be carried into an enemy's port. The two Contracting Parties agree, that on the expiration of two months after the declaration of war, their reſpective citizens ſhall not be allowed, in any part of the world, to plead that ignorance which is treated of in the preſent Article.

XVI. " The merchant ſhips belonging to the citizens of either of the contracting parties, when they with to paſs into the ports of an enemy of either of the two parties, and that their voyage as well as the contents of their cargoes are ſuch as to excite juſt ſuſpicions, ſhall be obliged to produce in open ſea, or in the ports and roads, not only their paſſports, but alſo their certificates, to prove that the effects are not of that contraband kind ſpecified by the 12th Article of the preſent Treaty.

XVII. " And, in order to avoid captures on frivolous ſuſpicions; and to prevent the damages reſulting from them, it is agreed, that when one of the Parties ſhall be at war and the other neuter, the ſhips of the Neutral Party ſhall be provided with paſſports ſimilar to thoſe ſpecified in the 4th Article; by which it may appear that the articles really belong to the Neutral Party. Thoſe paſſports ſhall be valid for any number of voyages, but they ſhall be renewed every year, if in the ſpace of that year the ſhip ſhould return home.

" Should theſe ſhips be laden, they ſhall be provided not only with paſſports, as before-mentioned, but alſo with certificate, as deſcribed in the ſame article, ſo that it may be known whether they have any contraband commodities on board; no other document ſhall be required, notwithſtanding any regulations or uſages to the contrary: and if it ſhould appear by theſe certificates that the ſaid ſhips have

no contraband goods on board they ſhall be ſuffered to proceed upon their deſtination: if, on the contrary, it ſhould appear by theſe certificates that the ſaid ſhips have contraband goods on board and that the commandant offers to give them up, the offer ſhall be accepted and the ſhip left at liberty to purſue its voyage, provided that the quantity of contraband merchandiſe be not too great to be conveniently taken on board the ſhip of war or privateer; in that caſe the veſſel may be brought into port in order there to deliver up the ſaid merchandiſe.

"Should a veſſel be found not to have the paſſport and certificates above required, the affair ſhall be tried by the judges or competent tribunals; and ſhould it appear by other documents or proofs, admiſſible by the cuſtom of nations, that the ſhip belongs to the citizens of the neutral party, it ſhall not be condemned, but ſet at liberty, with its lading (the contraband part excepted) and ſhall be free to purſue its courſe.

"Should the captain of the ſhip named in the paſſport chance to die, or be removed by any other cauſe, and another appointed in his place, the ſhip and cargo ſhall be equally ſecure and the paſsport remain in full force.

XVIII. "If the ſhips of the citizens of either party ſhould be met along the coaſts or in the open ſea by any ſhip of war or privateer of the other; to prevent all diſorder, the ſaid ſhips or privateers ſhall keep beyond cannon-ſhot and ſhall ſend their boat to the merchant veſſel they ſhall have met with; no more than two or three men ſhall enter it, and demand from the head or captain of the ſaid veſſel an inſpection of the paſſport concerning the property of it, made in the form preſcribed by the 4th article, as well as the certificates above-mentioned relating to its cargo. It is expreſsly agreed that the neutral ſhall not be obliged to go on board the viſiting veſſel to make the required exhibition of its papers or to afford any other information whatever.

XIX. "It is expreſsly agreed by the parties, that the above ſtipulations relative to the conduct to be obſerved on the ſeas by the cruiſers of the belligerent party towards the

ſhips of the neutral, ſhall only apply to ſhips ſailing without convoy; and in caſe the ſaid veſſels ſhould be under convoy, the intention of the parties being to pay all the reſpect due to the protection of the flag diſplayed by public veſſels, they ſhall not be viſited. But the verbal declaration of the Commandant of the eſcort, that the ſhips of his convoy belong to the nation whoſe flag he bears, and that they have nothing contraband on board, ſhall be regarded by the reſpective cruiſers as fully ſufficient; the two parties reciprocally engaging not to admit under the protection of their convoy any veſſels carrying prohibited merchandize to the enemy.

XX. "In the caſe of veſſels being taken or detained under pretext of carrying the enemy any contraband article, the captor ſhall give a receipt for the papers of the ſhip he detains, which receipt ſhall be annexed to a formal liſt of the ſaid papers. It ſhall not be allowed to force or open the hatches, coffers, deſks, trunks, bales, or veſſels found on board ſuch ſhip, nor to take away the ſmalleſt article before the cargo ſhall be landed, in preſence of the officers, who ſhall make an inventory of the ſaid effects. They muſt not on any account be ſold, exchanged, or alienated, otherwiſe than when, after a legal proceſs, the competent judge or judges ſhall have pronounced ſentence of confiſcation againſt the effects (the ſhip and other articles contained in it being always excepted.)

XXI. "In order that the ſhip and cargo ſhould be carefully guarded, and to prevent any waſte, it is decreed that the patron, captain, or ſupercargo of the captured ſhip ſhall not be removed from on board, either while the ſhip ſhall be at ſea, after having been taken, or during the proceedings which ſhall be going on againſt itſelf, its cargo, or any thing relating to it.

"In caſe a ſhip belonging to either of the parties ſhould be taken, ſeized, and kept to be tried, its officers, paſſengers, and men, ſhall be treated with humanity. They ſhall neither be impriſoned nor ſtript of their clothes, nor of money for their uſe, which is not to exceed, for the cap-

tain, ſupercargo, and ſecond in command, 500 dollars each, and for the ſeamen and paſſengers, 100 dollars each.

XXII. "It is agreed, that in all caſes the tribunals eſtabliſhed for prize cauſes in the countries into which the prizes ſhall be taken, can alone take cognizance of them; and that whatever judgment the tribunal of either party or commanders of ſhips of war, or privateers of either party, pronounces, any ſhip, merchandize, or property claimed by the citizens on either ſide, the ſentence or decree, ſhall ſtate the reaſons or motives which determined that judgment, an authentic copy of which, together with the proceedings thereunto belonging, ſhall, at their requeſt, be delivered, without delay, to the captain, or agent of the ſhip, on payment of the coſts.

XXIII. "And in order more effectually to provide for the reſpective ſurety of the citizens of the two contracting parties, and to prevent the injuries which may be apprehended from the ſhips of war or privateers of either party, and all citizens of one party ſhall abſtain from all wrong towards the citizens of the other, and all inſult to their perſons. Should they do otherwiſe, they are liable to be puniſhed, and give, in their perſons and property ſatisfaction and reparation, with intereſt, for all damages of whatever kind they may be.

"To this end all captains of privateers before receiving their commiſſions, ſhall be obliged, before a competent judge, to give ſecurity, at leaſt by two reſpectable ſureties, who have no intereſt in the privateer, and each of whom, together with the captain, ſhall be particularly and firmly bound in the ſum of 7000 dollars, or 36,820 franks; and if the ſaid ſhips carries more than 150 ſailors or ſoldiers, in the ſum of 14,000 dollars, or 73,640 franks, which ſhall ſerve to make good the injuries and damage which the ſaid privateer's crews, or any of them may do during their cruiſe, contrary to the diſpoſitions of the preſent Convention, or to the laws and inſtructions which ſhould be the rule of their conduct; otherwiſe the ſaid commiſſions ſhall be revoked, and annulled in all caſes where an aggreſſion ſhall have taken place.

XXIV. " When the ships of war of the two Contracting Parties, or those which their citizens shall have armed for war, shall be admitted to cast anchor with their prizes in the ports of either, the said public or private ships shall not be obliged to pay any duties to the officers of the place, the judges, or any other persons. The said prizes entering into the harbours or ports of either party, shall not be detained nor seized, and the officers of the place shall not take cognizance of the validity of such prizes, which shall be allowed freely to proceed to the places specified in the commissions which the captains of the said vessels shall be obliged to produce. It is always provided that the stipulations of this article shall not extend beyond the most favoured nations.

XXV. " Foreign privateers bearing commissions of a State or Prince at war with another nation, shall not arm in the ports of either Power, nor sell their prizes in them, nor exchange them in any manner: they shall not be permitted to purchase more provisions than the necessary quantity to enable them to reach the nearest port of the the State or Prince from whom they received their commissions.

XXVI. " It is moreover ageeed, that neither of the two Contracting Parties shall receive pirates in their ports, roads, or cities, nor permit any of its inhabitants to receive, protect, assist, or conceal them in any maner; but that they shall give up to just punishment such of their inhabitants as may be guilty of such crimes. The ships of such pirates, as well as the effects and merchandize taken by them and brought into the ports of either nation shall be seized whenever they may be found, and restored to the proprietors, or the agents or factors duly authorised by them, after the right of property shall be proved before the competent judges.

" Should the said effects pass by sale into other hands, and that the proprietors did not, nor could know or had suspected that they were taken by pirates they shall be restored in the same manner.

XXVII. "Neither nation ſhall come to ſhare in the fiſheries of the other on its coaſts, nor diſturb it in the exerciſe of the rights it now has or may acquire on the coaſts of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, or on any of the other coaſts of America to the Northward of he United States. But the whale fiſhery ſhall be free to both nations in all parts of the world.

"This Convention ſhall be ratified by both parties in due and regular form, and the ratification exchanged within the ſpace of ſix months, or ſooner if poſſible.

"On the faith of which the reſpective Plenipotentiaries have ſigned the above articles, as well in the French as in the Engliſh language, and have affixed their ſeal, declaring nevertheleſs that the ſignature in two languages ſhall not be cited as a precedent, nor conſtrued to the prejudice of either of the parties.

"Done at Paris the 8th day of Vendemaire, 9th year of the French Republic, and the 30th day of September 1800.

(Signed) "JOSEPH BONAPARTE.
"C. P, FLEURIEU.
"ROEDERER.
"OLIVER ELLSWORTH.
"W. R. DAVIE.
"W. V. MURRAY.
(A True Copy) "C. M. TALLEYRAND."

The ſecond article of this Treaty is quite enough to ſhew, that all the reſt are good for nothing, for all the diſputes that theſe famous ſticklers for juſtice had had with each other during ſeveral years, aroſe out of their various conſtructions of the treaties there alluded to. America gained nothing, and France conceded nothing, by this Convention; it was altogether a political manœuvre of the latter power to have the appearance of being generous at a ſmall expence.

In the 14th article ſhe affected to recogniſe the principle, that "free ſhips make free goods;" but it was, as to all the practical uſes of the principle, a matter of no kind of conſequence whether the principle were admitted by France or not; for England, and England alone, could have been benefited by it, and England was ſo well able to carry and to protect all her own goods, that ſhe had no occaſion to aſk the Americans to carry them for her, nor to aſk the French to let them be ſo carried. In truth, both parties intended to have ſerved themſelves; but they carried their deſigns into effect with about as much ſagacity as the Aſſembly of Mice, which reſolved, that the Cat ſhould never approach their holes, unleſs ſhe firſt tied a bell about her neck; but did not foreſee, that the whole value of their reſolution depended upon—whether Puſſy would ſubmit to be commanded!

England, with the means of preſerving her exiſtence by the power of her irreſiſtible navy, ſtands upon very different grounds from France and America; who not only draw up all thoſe fine articles without any riſk to themſelves, but make her pay the expenſe of their adoption. England was unmoved by the nonſenſical farrago, and the Americans gained nothing by their embaſſy, but a little refinement in the art of quibbling, which, ſhould it lead them into the *argumentum ad bellum*, will teach them in the worſt poſſible way, that ſtrength and weakneſs are eſſentially incompatible with each other, and that it is inconſiſtent with the immutable laws of nature for either to take the place of its opponent. France

may ſubdue England, America may ſubdue England, and either of them may become and continue to be the moſt powerful of nations, until ſome other nation ſubdue it, in its turn; but it is not in the nature of things that weakneſs ſhould patiently acquieſce in the diſpoſition of power, nor that ſtrength ſhould yield to the menace of inferior force.

A convention between France and America is a combination between weakneſs and weakneſs, to form an aggregate of power ſufficient to ſubdue Britain; and, if they did not ſee reaſon to be mutually jealous, they would co-operate more zealouſly and cordially than they have done; but, as it regards themſelves individually, they have all the inclination in the world to effect that conqueſt each for himſelf, and that neither of them has accompliſhed that object already is not owing to a want of will, but a want of power. When poor ſimple John Bull, in his fits of complaiſance, ſpeculates upon purchaſing greatneſs and ſafety by making conceſſions to neutrals—when he ſuppoſes that they are deſirous of joining his enemy to beat him, becauſe he *exerciſes* his power, and hopes to conciliate them by laying it down, he quite miſtakes the matter: if they are deſirous of beating him now, becauſe he *uſes* his power, they would be deſirous of beating him then, becauſe he *poſſeſſed* it, and there would be only one more effort of complaiſance for him to exerciſe, that of yielding himſelf up, like Samſon of old, and becoming a laughing-ſtock for his unſeemly compliance.

The whole of this ſubject has been ſo cloſely argued by a late writer, in a Tract, that ought to be read by every perſon who wiſhes to be correctly informed

relative to it;* that it would be impertinent to make it a topic of diſcuſſion here; it is ſufficient for the purpoſes of this Work to obſerve, that, ſince the commencement of the Conſulate, no one means have been left untried that could, within the range of poſſibility, lead to the conqueſt of England; and not one of the ſtates of the civilized world could, conſiſtently with their own convenience, have done more to promote that conqueſt than they have, if England had even have extended the right of ſearch to every ſhip upon the ocean and preſcribed the preciſe port to which ſhe ſhould ſail, or the preciſe cargo that ſhe ſhould carry. The power of England is her only protection, and, if ſhe means to *keep it*, ſhe muſt *uſe it*.

Right or wrong were matters of perfect indifference to the Conſul and his court: it was an acquiſition of the very firſt conſequence that they were endeavouring to obtain, and, if extraordinary exertions were neceſſary, thoſe exertions they reſolved to make. The policy of France, under every form of government, whether Bourbons, Jacobins, or Buonapartés, has always been, to attempt by intrigue whatever it had failed to obtain by arms; and, in conformity with this ſyſtem the Conſul embarked in a plan, as magnificent in deſign as it was difficult of execution, with a view to undermine the naval power of Britain.

The firſt ſtep to be taken was to perſuade the neutral powers that they had as ſtrong an intereſt in reſiſting the Britiſh claim of a right to ſearch neutral

* "The War as it is, and the War as it ſhould be," ſold by Jordan and Maxwell, Strand, London, price one ſhilling and ſixpence.

veſſels as he had: but this had always been found extremely difficult; for the Britiſh courts of admiralty always made compenſation to the neutrals for *their* loſſes, even when the cargoes they had carried were proved to have been enemy's property and were condemned as ſuch. It was, therefore, reſolved to raiſe an unuſual buſtle in all the neutral ports, by employing an unuſual quantity of ſhipping for French account, in order that a conſiderable part of the trade of thoſe ports might depend upon their being able to tranſport goods to and from France. French agents were either ſent to, or the moſt celebrated merchants were engaged as French agents, in all the ports of the Baltic and America, as well as in the Greek and Italian ſtates in the Mediterranean, to make ſhipments for France. Among the goods thus purchaſed for and on the account of the French Government was a prodigious quantity of timber and naval ſtores, which were paid for by bills upon perſons notoriouſly in its ſervice, and which goods were, afterwards neutralized and enſured from capture by neutral merchants reſiding in thoſe neutral ports, in order that thoſe ſtates themſelves might find it their intereſt to get ſuch property ſafe into the harbours of France.

The ſilly people of thoſe countries did not ſee that ſuch a trade muſt neceſſarily be of the moſt ephemeral kind; and, that, even if they ſhould happen to be the muſt ſucceſsful of tools in the hand of France, ſhe could not make uſe of them after her arſenals and granaries were filled. They were entrapped—the bait was ſuited to their capacities—they began to ſpeculate with as much zeal as a young ſhopkeeper does, when, as ſoon as he has ſold a few articles, he takes

it for granted he ſhall preſently make a fortune! A new attempt was made to inveigle Great Britain out of its common ſenſe, or, rather, the old attempt, took a new form. The frantic hoſtility of the Emperor of Ruſſia took the preciſe direction that the Firſt Conſul deſired; it was the governments of the neutral ſtates that undertook his cauſe by the Northern Confederacy, and it was not merely againſt the duplicity of a few mercenary citizens that Great Britain had now to contend, but againſt the nations united in one powerful combination. "We will acknowledge," ſaid the Confederates, "that the Engliſh may have been right in enforcing the ſearch hitherto, becauſe the veſſels upon which the principle has operated have not been accompanied by any ſtate ſhip that could anſwer for the regularity of their papers: we will no longer let our ſhips go to ſea without convoy, and we will pledge ourſelves to reſiſt the right of ſearching neutral ſhips when eſcorted by one or more ſhips of war." Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden, were in league to convoy ſafely into the ports of France as much French property as it were poſſible to cover by the oaths of a number of unprincipled men, inhabiting each of their ports, whoſe only property and whoſe only revenues areſe out of their perjuries, in ſwearing property to be their own which they never ſaw and never were intereſted in to the value of a ſingle doit; and, when Buonaparté had ſucceeded ſo far, there could be nothing ſurpriſing in his treating the American miniſters with a dinner before they left Paris, to give them a hint of what was expected of them, in a toaſt, drank by the Third Conſul, Lebrun: "To the union of America with the powers of the

North; that reſpect may be procured for the liberty of the ſeas."

It is ſome credit to the Engliſh miniſters, that, tame as all their meaſures *towards the enemy* were, they did not yield this point. A Daniſh frigate reſiſted the ſearch and fired into a Britiſh ſhip of war in the Mediterranean, although a whole fleet of Swedes had been taken in the Engliſh Channel, under convoy of a man of war, which, by order of the Court of Stockholm, refuſed to let the ſhips be viſited: but the judge of the Engliſh High Court of Admiralty firmly and judiciouſly maintained the right of ſearch, upon the moderate ground, That if the principle which the neutral ſtates themſelves contended for were admitted, "that free ſhips make free goods," the ſearch would be ſtill neceſſary, to aſcertain whether a ſhip were neutral or not. Here the Engliſh miniſtry took their ſtand; and the Conſul immediately went to work, to ſee how he could turn their moderation to his advantage.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Difficulties oppoſed to the Negotiations at Luneville. Policy of Buonaparté for ſecuring his Power.—Final Decree for the Recal of the Emigrants.—The Emperor again prepares for War.—Apprehenſions for the Fate of England, and the Reaſons.—Cloſe of the Eighteenth Century.

IN attempting to proceed in the negotiations at Luneville a difficulty aroſe, which had not been correctly calculated upon by the Allies. It had been the practice of the Empire to make the indemnities to be granted to the different ſtates and princes the baſis of its treaties with foreign powers; and, accordingly, the city of Luneville ſoon began to ſwarm with little miniſters and petty ambaſſadors, who came in expectation of aſſiſting to ſwell out the diſcuſſions till ſome new convulſion in France ſhould afford a chance of rekindling the war with a probability of ſucceſs. Buonaparte, however, roſe too early in a morning to be outwitted by a fineſſe of this ſecond-hand ſort: he had not forgotten, that, after he had ſettled the peace of Leoben, the difficulties that had occurred at Raſtadt had recalled the Emperor into a war, as head of the German Confederacy, after taking near two years to recruit his forces; the Conſul, therefore, determined that the Emperor ſhould make a ſeparate peace.

During the time that the diplomatic corps were diſputing and explaining upon this ſubject, Buonaparté was conſolidating his power by all the devices that wiſdom or art could bring to bear upon that object. He gradually increaſed, the ſplendor and

magnificence of his levees and reviews; he avoided appearing, except upon rare and especial occasions; when he did appear, he chose an opportunity of ingratiating himself with the army, either by the affability of his manner, or some well chosen compliment to the regiment that happened to be nearest to his person. Upon the pretence of business he never suffered himself to be approached but through the ministers, and by that means avoided all the familiarity of inferior people, which the republican ideas of his fellow-citizens led him to expect. When he admitted any person to his presence it was only such as were of consequence, either by their rank or property, and he never suffered any one that he spoke to, to quit him until he had, conferred some act of grace or some flattering mark of attention upon him. His family had been rigidly enjoined to be particularly select in their connexions, and Madame Buonaparte, about this time, presented, for his approbation, a general plan for settling the branches of both their families, in a way, that was most calculated to strengthen their interests without frustrating their ultimate designs.

Like every despot, and every usurper, whether he intends to act the part of a despot or otherwise, Buonaparté kept up a constant cry of the dangers to which his person was exposed, from attempts of conspirators to take away his life—an artifice by which he not only strengthened his police, without being suspected of any design to obtain a further elevation for himself, but confirmed the Royalists (who did not fail to interpret in their own favour the rigour he exercised towards the Jacobins) in the opinion that he was grasping a superfluous degree of power,

in order that he might be able to reſtore the Bourbons without reſiſtance. This the Conſul knew to be the opinion of the Royaliſts, and he determined to preſerve the deluſion till he had availed himſelf of as much of the ſpirit of revenge and enthuſiaſm as that body would aid him with, for the ſuppreſſion of Republicaniſm; and it was alone upon this principle, that he choſe to grant permiſſion to a much more numerous and varied deſcription of Emigrants to return to France, after having eſcaped from a pretended conſpiracy, than the whole number that had been recalled upon all former occaſions. In drawing up the document upon which this proceeding was founded, great art was diſplayed to prevent thoſe traits appearing, without being ſufficiently obſcured to blind the Republicans; and, at the ſame time, whilſt the Conſul was "playing off" the two parties againſt each other, care was taken that the decree upon which the amneſty reſted, ſhould be indefinite enough to place every individual at the arbitrary diſpoſal of the Government.

In conſequence of an order to that effect, the Miniſter of Police reported to the Conſuls as follows:

"Citizen Conſuls,

"The general Liſt of Emigrants, as it is printed, contains the names of 150,000 individuals, or claſſes of individuals, and the repetition of a multitude of names.

"It has been formed of partial liſts, made up by the conſtituted local authorities, which the National Convention had entruſted with this work.

"There remains a ſupplement which has not been publiſhed, and which ſhould be ſo, to form a complete liſt of the perſons accuſed of emigration.

"The Legiſlative Aſſembly, the National Convention,

and ſince then the Legiſlature, have eraſed a number of perſons from that liſt. The Executive Directory eraſed 13,000, and you have eraſed about 1200.

" Theſe individuals, therefore, ought to enjoy the rights which have been reſtored to them. It is upon the ſtability of the deciſions of the Government, that the public confidence, the faith of private tranſactions, the ſecurity of property, depend.

" Many heads (inſcriptions) are collective, and affect individuals under the general denominations of heirs, repreſentatives, and children.

" The collective heads of heirs and repreſentatives, may, in their generality, embrace a number of families, unknown even to thoſe whoſe inheritance they are called upon to take up; as the law has eſtabliſhed repreſentation to infinity. By conſequence, being unknown to the local authorities till the individuals compoſing ſuch families as have retained their general denomination and recovered their rights; it is impoſſible, then, from ſuch a head to convict any citizen of emigration.

" The inſcription of children *en maſſe* is not more regular The crime of emigration ought then to be confined to thoſe perſonally pointed out, as the puniſhment will be individually applied.

" Other heads contain the claſſes of cultivators, artiſans, hired ſervants, and their children. Their qualities are known, as they have been given by authorities appointed in their place, whither perſons they alluded to had their real place of abode. From this claſs of perſons there are almoſt no reclaimants. Almoſt all are unacquainted with the inſcription under which they are comprehended, the law to which they are ſubject, and the puniſhment to which they are doomed.

" The greateſt number of theſe, deſtitute of property, could not have been warned of their danger by the ſequeſtration impoſed on the eſtates of Emigrants.

" Such men cannot really be Emigrants. All the benefits of the Revolution were in their favour: by it they

were liberated from the chains and from the disgrace of feudality, and by it they became the masters of those who had been their oppressors or their masters.

"If men of this description have quitted their country, it was not with the intention of abandoning it, nor with the absurd intention of arming themselves against their own interests. They may, for a moment, have been led away by seduction; but neither in civil contest nor in foreign war can be confounded with the really guilty those men who must only have been the blind instruments, always absolved by their ignorance from criminality, and by the interest of society, which demands their labours.

"Other heads are directed against women in the power of their husbands; children under the authority of their parents, or who were out of France to complete their education.

"A woman obeys the direction of her husband. She quits her country along with him, without considering the steps she takes, or knowing the laws by which she is threatened.

"Ecclesiastics, whom revolutionary laws compelled to go into banishment, have still been inscribed upon the List of Emigrants.

"Unhappy victims of revolutionary tribunals have been inscribed, although they never have emigrated. The Government owes it to the families to restore to their memory the quality of citizen and to their heirs the rights which it supposes.

"The Frenchmen present at Malta, at the time of the capitulation, are absolved by that capitulation, the execution of which public faith demands.

"A great number of individuals have been provisionally erased by central administrations, at a time when they were armed with all the rigour of the laws respecting emigration.

"Many, in a word, have been represented as innocent by the commission appointed by you by the decree of 8th Ventose, year eight.

"From the different classes of individuals inscribed on the general List will remain the men who had the prejudices of birth and title to defend; others, who are known to have carried arms against their country, or served foreign powers; others, in short, who have not reclaimed within the period fixed by your decrees.

"Such, Citizen Consuls, are the classes of persons who form the general List of Emigrants.

"To reduce this List to the real Emigrants, I shall subjoin the project of a decree, of which the principles and the means have been suggested to me by the labour of the Committee of the Council of State appointed to discuss this subject.

(Signed) "FOUCHE."

In the sitting of the 20th (12th of October) the Consuls of the Republic, upon the report of the Minister of Police, decreed as follows:

TITLE I. "Of the Inscriptions which ought to be struck out of the List of Emigrants.

Article 1. "The persons hereafter described shall be struck out of the List of Emigrants.—First, Those who have been definitively erased by the Executive Council, the Committee of Legislature of the National Convention, and the Legislative Body, and the Executive Directory.—Secondly.—The individuals provisionally erased by the local administrations from the month of April, 1792, to the 21st of March, 1795; from the 23d of October, 1796, to the 20th of May, 1797; and from the 22d of September, 1798, to the 4th of December, 1799.—Thirdly, Persons of the following descriptions: Labourers, workmen, artisans, and all others exercising a mechanical profession; servants; the wives and children of all the persons above-mentioned.—Fourthly, The individuals collectively inscribed without any individual denomination; such are comprised under the general head of heirs or children of a person mentioned: nevertheless, this Decree does not go to erase off those individuals who may have been inscribed distinctly from the

collective inscription.—Fifthly, All wives, except those first, whose husbands are in the situation described in the third article, paragraphs 1, 2, and 3; and, secondly, those who have emigrated and abandoned their husbands.—Sixthly, The individuals who were under the age of sixteen on the 25th of December, 1799.—Seventhly, The knights of Malta who were in that island when it capitulated.—Eighthly. The individuals who left France before the 14th of July, 1789.—Ninthly, The names of the individuals put to death by judgments of revolutionary tribunals.—Tenthly, The ecclesiastics who were sentenced to deportation and who left France in obedience to the law.—Eleventhly, The individuals erased by the Report of the committee of the 26th of February, and not put on the list again on the revision of that Report.

Article 2. "The erasures which shall be made by virtue of the preceding article are declared null and void if they arise from any false application of the article. The agents of Government are to prosecute the question on this head before the civil tribunals; and the individual, if it shall be so determined, shall be replaced on the list, provided that the acts done by him in the intermediate time, whether with the Republic or with individuals, shall not be affected by such judgment.

TITLE II. "Of those to be kept on the list.

Article 3. "The following description shall be.—First, Those who have borne arms against France.—Secondly, Those, who, after the departure of the *ci-devant* French Princes, have continued to form part of their civil or military establishment.—Thirdly, Those who have accepted from the *ci-devant* French Princes, or from the powers at war with France, the place of ministers, ambassadors, negotiators, and agents.—Fourthly, Those who have been kept on the list by Government after the report of the committee established in consequence of the order of the 26th February, 1800.—Fifthly, Those who have not made their claims before the 25th December, 1799, as indicated in the

law of the 2d March, 1800, founded on the Report of the 26th February, unleſs they ſhall come within the caſes pointed out out in the preceding title.

Article 4. "The nullity pronounced by the ſecond article is applicable to the eraſures which ſhall be made in contravention of the preceding article.

TITLE III. "Relates to the mode in which regulations of the two preceding titles ſhall be carried into execution.

TITLE IV. "Directs the precautions to be adopted with reſpect to thoſe who return.—They are to take the oath of fidelity to the Conſtitution. The individual who ſhall be ſtruck out of the liſt in conſequence of the preſent order ſhall be placed under the control of Government during the continuance of the year, and one year after a general peace. The women whoſe names are ſtruck out, though their husbands are kept on the Liſt, if they diſturb the public tranquillity, be driven out of the French territory."

Among other precautionary ſteps that were taken, in caſe the negociations at Luneville ſhould not proceed agreeably, the generals repaired to Paris, to concert with the Miniſter of War upon the meaſures proper to be taken for commencing a winter campaign. On this occaſion, the addreſs of Buonaparté diſplayed itſelf with particular eaſe and elegance, in the opportunity he took to pay a compliment to General Moreau, who waited upon him immediately after his arrival. The Miniſter of the Interior attended with a ſuperb caſe of piſtols, exquiſitely finiſhed and enriched with diamonds, which the Directory had ordered to be made, with a deſign of preſenting them to a foreign prince. The beauty of the piſtols was greatly admired, "They appear very *apropos*," obſerved the Firſt Conſul, as he preſented them to Moreau; and then, turning to the

Miniſter, without alluding to their original object, he "ſaid, but, Citizen Miniſter, here is a grand omiſſion: Cauſe *ſome* of the victories gained by General Moreau to be engraven upon them.—Do not order them *all* to be engraved, for it would be neceſſary to take off too many of the diamonds; and, although they are of no particular value in General Moreau's eſtimation, we muſt not ſpoil too much the deſign of the artiſt."

If the Conſul was endeavouring to put his army upon the beſt footing, by rewarding his generals and flattering his troops, the Emperor was not leſs active in preparing for the alternative of war. The Archduke Charles was recalled to defend the hereditary States; and, that he might the more impreſſively appeal to the zeal and patriotiſm of the people, he addreſſed a Proclamation to them from the palace of Prague. This proclamation ſtated, that earneſtly as his Majeſty the Emperor and King endeavoured to procure an honourable and laſting peace for the whole of his hereditary dominions, and much as it was to be wiſhed, in honour of ſuffering humanity, after a long period of devaſtation, the enemy would join for the ſame purpoſe; it nevertheleſs continued adviſeable and neceſſary to be prepared for the worſt, if, contrary to the hopes and wiſhes of the Emperor, the obſtinate refuſal and extravagant demands of the enemy ſhould oblige him to make the greateſt poſſible preparations for the general defence.

The deciſive moment (it was ſaid) had arrived, and prudence demanded that ſufficient and ſpeedy means ſhould be reſorted to. Extraordinary armaments were ſet on foot in Hungary, Tranſylvania, Moravia, Auſtria, Bohemia, and Sileſia, which were

to be under the immediate command of his Imperial Highneſs, and the dangers of the country were moſt pathetically diſplayed before the nations, which were called upon to avert them. "No choice," ſaid the Archduke, "is left to us between deſtruction and preſervation, between ignomy and honour;" and he continued, "I am fully perſuaded, that, by a noble emulation of the behaviour of our loyal and brave anceſtors, on ſimilar occaſions, the ſecurity and happineſs of the country will be maintained, as it has hitherto been glorioufly preſerved."

Preparations for war could not, indeed, fail to occupy the principal attention of both parties during the exiſting as well as the former armiſtice, for France was inflexibly determined not to treat with Auſtria in conjunction with any other power, and the Emperor as poſitively declared his reſolution not to treat without Great Britain.

A few timid ſpirits, and a few ſanguine ſpirits, both in England and elſewhere, according as their apprehenſions and their wiſhes guided them, now thought this latter power about to be overwhelmed in deſtruction; for the powers of the North ſeemed determined to proceed as vindictively as the Conſul, and were preparing their forces to ſecond his views.

It was by no means favourable to conciliation, that the Emperor Paul laid claim to the title of Grand Maſter of Malta, whilſt the Engliſh favoured the pretenſions of Baron Hompeſch, one of the knights, whoſe known gallantry and fidelity to the order, gave him every advantage over a ſovereign, whoſe beſt plea was, that he had choſen to elect himſelf.

The Ruſſians, of all claſſes, were ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of England, owing to the intimacy between the commercial concerns of the two countries; and a ſmothered indignation ſpread itſelf from breaſt to breaſt, throughout all the commercial claſſes of Ruſſia, againſt the tyranny of the Emperor, who, out of mere vagary, was about to plunge the dagger of the nation into the boſom of its beſt and moſt intimate friend.

This feeling was not long hid from the Engliſh government, and being thrown into the ſcale againſt the Emperor's wrath, it toſſed it out of view, as lighter than vanity. The Engliſh ambaſſador had withdrawn from St. Peterſburgh, and Lord Carysfort, the envoy at Berlin, received ſuch inſtructions, as proved that England had no wiſh to ſhun the conſequences of Northern hoſtility. His Lordſhip informed the Pruſſian miniſtry, that, as his Majeſty had no accredited miniſter in Ruſſia, however much he might regret that any meaſures had been adopted of ſuch an offenſive kind againſt his juſt rights, and in violation of the law of nations, as would oblige him to repel them by force; yet, that he took that medium of informing the Ruſſian ambaſſador, that if the principles of the Northern Confederacy were acted upon, he ſhould immediately commence hoſtilities againſt the governments which compoſed it.

Conſiſtently with Lord Carysfort's declaration, the Engliſh fitted out a powerful fleet, and called home their moſt celebrated admiral, Lord Nelſon, from a diſtant ſtation, to take the command of it. A body of troops were to accompany the expedi-

tion, in order to take poſſeſſion of the Sound, to block up the Baltic, and to provide our Quixotic heroes with ſome *real* troubles to complain of.

The 18th century was now about to cloſe, without having taught the inhabitants of Europe how to provide greater happineſs for their poſterity than they had received from their anceſtors; like its beginning ſo was its end about to be enveloped in all the hideous ſhades of ſanguinary warfare.

At the cloſe of the year 1700, Louis King of France and William King of England, having taken different views of religion, each contrived to involve his ſubjects and partiſans in revengeful and inveterate conteſts in defence of his opinion: though ambition was really and truly the motive by which both were actuated, each perſuaded his people that it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary for one half the world, at leaſt, to rally under his banner, if they were anxious to preſerve either their lands, their commerce, or their religion; and the ſilly people were perſuaded to indulge all thoſe rancorous paſſions, which are equally tranſgreſſions of all religion, to embark in hoſtilities, which in their very nature precluded the benefits of commerce from being enjoyed, and to protract their wars to a length of time which devoured the whole produce of their labour, and rendered their lands merely nominal bleſſings—or poſſeſſions without ſubſtance!

So had the 18th century been paſſed, and during no period of it had there been a more rancorous ſpirit brooding over the affairs of Europe, than that, which now, iſſuing from the cavern of Envy, with a ſcowling eye caſt upon the Britiſh Navy, flew from hemi-

ſphere to hemiſphere, with the old ſcroll of diſcord, re-edited and new titled, from "Balance of Power" to "Neutral Rights," and threatened to make the coming age as bloody as the former. This is a hiſtory, and not a prophecy; it is, therefore, not our duty to mark any incident with a ſtronger character than we might be borne out in, by the reader's own obſervation; but having paid much attention to the whole of this ſubject, and endeavoured to inveſtigate its nature and conſequences with no common concern, we hope to be indulged with the full weight of theſe obſervations; and if in any caſe we have deſcended to a minutia apparently unimportant, it has been becauſe we have thought many incidents to be ſo connected and interwoven with the ulterior deſigns of Napoleon, as to lead to conſequences not now generally foreſeen.

What we have written relates to an age that is paſt: the events recorded in this and the preceding Volumes may have been read as matters of mere amuſement. If this is a ſpecies of levity—if it is even a fault, it is a fault that may be corrected, but muſt not be repeated. Here a line muſt be drawn—here a diſtinction muſt be made, which it is of the higheſt importance that we ſhould attend to. The occurrences that are paſt related principally to other times and other places: thoſe which remain yet untold belong to our own times—connect themſelves moſt intimately to our own affairs, and will, it is highly poſſible, long diſturb the harmony of our own fireſides. Events ſo different in their nature, and in which we have ſo different an intereſt, ought not to be confounded together: and, in cloſing the preſent Volume, we ſhould not do juſ-

tice to our ſubject, were we not to obſerve; that, however the Life of Buonaparté may have been read hitherto as an object of ſpeculation, the Reader will do well, for the future, to conſider how far his own deſtiny is under its influence.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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